



Please  
handle this volume  
with care.

The University of Connecticut  
Libraries, Storrs

BOOK 910.45.C772V2 v.1 c.1  
COOK # VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN JAMES  
COOK ROUND WORLD



3 9153 00206436 0

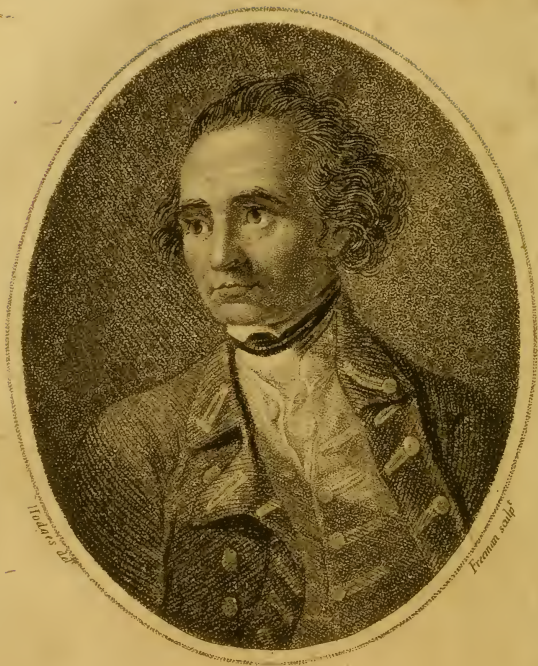
910.45/C772V2/v.1





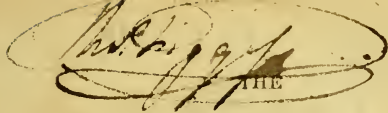






*Capt.<sup>n</sup> James Cook.*

*Published July 1. 1809. by Richard Phillips. Bridge Street. Blackfriars. London.*



G  
420  
66  
V6  
180  
V.1

**VOYAGES**  
OF  
**CAPTAIN JAMES COOK**  
ROUND THE WORLD.

PRINTED VERBATIM FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITIONS, AND  
EMBELLISHED WITH A SELECTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

---

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

---

**VOL. I.**

BEING THE FIRST OF THE FIRST VOYAGE.

---

**LONDON:**

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,

BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS.

By W. Flint, Old Bailey.

---

1809.

910.45

C772v2

4.1

CONTENTS  
OF THE  
FIRST VOLUME.

---

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Passage from Plymouth to Madeira, with some Account of that Island. PAGE 5

CHAP. II.

The Passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, with some Account of the Country, and the Incidents that happened there. 16

CHAP. III.

The Passage from Rio de Janeiro to the Entrance of the Streight of Le Maire, with a Description of some of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. 41

## CHAP. IV.

An Account of what happened in ascending a Mountain to  
search for Plants. 47

## CHAP. V.

The Passage through the Streight of Le Maire, and a  
further Description of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego,  
and its Productions. 55

## CHAP. VI.

A general Description of the south east Part of Terra del  
Fuego, and the Streight of Le Maire; with some  
Remarks on Lord Anson's Account of them, and Direc-  
tions for the Passage Westward, round this Part of  
America, into the South Seas. 62

## CHAP. VII.

The Sequel of the Passage from Cape Horn to the newly  
discovered Islands in the South Seas, with a Descrip-  
tion of their Figure and Appearance; some Account  
of the Inhabitants, and several Incidents that happened  
during the Course, and at the Ship's Arrival among  
them. 68

## CHAP. VIII.

The Arrival of the Endeavour at Otaheite, called by Captain Wallis, King George the III.'s Island. Rules established for Traffic with the Natives, and an Account of several Incidents which happened in a Visit to Tootahah and Tonbourai Tamaida, two Chiefs. 77

## CHAP. IX.

A Place fixed upon for an Observatory and Fort : an Excursion into the Woods, and its Consequences. The Fort erected : a Visit from several Chiefs on Board and at the Fort, with some Account of the Music of the Natives, and the Manner in which they dispose of their Dead. 86

## CHAP. X.

An Excursion to the Eastward, an Account of several Incidents that happened both on Board and on Shore, and of the first Interview with Oberea, the Person, who, when the Dolphin was here, was supposed to be Queen of the Island, with a Description of the Fort. 95

## CHAP. XI.

The Observatory set up ; the Quadrant stolen, and Consequences of the Theft : A visit to Tootahah : Description of a Wrestling-match : European Seeds sown : Names given to our People by the Indians. 105



## CHAP. XII.

Some Ladies visit the Fort with very uncommon Ceremonies ;  
The Indians attend Divine Service, and in the Evening  
exhibit a most extraordinary Spectacle : Toubourai Ta-  
maide falls into Temptation. 118

## CHAP. XIII.

Another Visit to Tootahah, with various Adventures : Ex-  
traordinary Amusement of the Indians, with Remarks  
upon it : Preparations to observe the Transit of Venus,  
and what happened in the mean time at the Fort. 125

## CHAP. XIV.

The Ceremonies of an Indian Funeral particularly described :  
General Observations on the Subject : A Character found  
among the Indians to which the Ancients paid great  
Veneration : A Robbery at the Fort, and its Conse-  
quences ; with a Specimen of Indian Cookery, and va-  
rious Incidents. 134

## CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Circumnavigation of the Island, and va-  
rious Incidents that happened during the Expedition ;  
with a Description of a Burying-place and Place of Wor-  
ship, called a Morai. 147

CHAP. XVI.

An Expedition of Mr. Banks to trace the River : Marks of subterraneous Fire : Preparations for leaving the Island : An Account of Tupia.	162
--	-----

CHAP. XVII.

A particular Description of the Island ; its Produce and Inha- bitants ; their Dress, Habitations, Food, domestic Life and Amusements.	172
--	-----

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Manufactures, Boats, and Navigation of Ota- heite.	195
--	-----

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Division of Time in Otaheite ; Numeration, Com- putation of Distance, Language, Diseases, Disposal of the Dead, Religion, War, Weapons, and Government ; with some general Observations for the Use of future Navigators.	211
--	-----

## CHAP. XX.

A Description of several other Islands in the Neighbourhood of Otabeite, with various Incidents ; a dramatic Entertainment ; and many Particulars relative to the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants. 230

## BOOK II.

## CHAP. I.

The Passage from Oteroah to New Zealand ; Incidents which happened on going ashore there, and while the Ship lay in Poverty Bay. 253

## CHAP. II.

A Description of Poverty Bay, and the Face of the adjacent-Country. The Range from thence to Cape Turnagain, and back to Tolaga ; with some Account of the People and the Country, and several Incidents that happened on that Part of the Coast. 272

## CHAP. III.

The Range from Tolaga to Mercury Bay, with an Account of many Incidents that happened both on board and ashore : A Description of several Views exhibited by the Country, and of the Heppahs, or fortified Villages of the Inhabitants. 297

## CHAP. IV.

The Range from Mercury Bay to the Bay of Islands: An Expedition up the River Thames: Some Account of the Indians who inhabit its Banks, and the fine Timber that grows there: Several Interviews with the Natives on different Parts of the Coast, and a Skirmish with them upon an Island. 321

## CHAP. V.

Range from the Bay of Islands round North Cape to Queen Charlotte's Sound; and a Description of that Part of the Coast. 341

## CHAP. VI.

Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound: Passage through the Streight which divides the two Islands, and back to Cape Turnagain: Horrid Custom of the Inhabitants: Remarkable Melody of Birds: A Visit to a Heppah, and many other Particulars. 354



## INTRODUCTION.

---

WITH Lieutenant Cook, in this voyage, embarked Joseph Banks, Esq. a gentleman possessed of considerable landed property in Lincolnshire. He received the education of a scholar rather to qualify him for the enjoyments than the labours of life; yet an ardent desire to know more of nature than could be learnt from books, determined him at a very early age, to forego what are generally thought to be the principal advantages of a liberal fortune, and to apply his revenue not in procuring the pleasures of leisure and ease, but in the pursuit of his favourite study, through a series of fatigue and danger, which, in such circumstances, have very seldom been voluntarily incurred, except to gratify the restless and insatiable desires of avarice or ambition.

Upon his leaving the university of Oxford, in the year 1763, he crossed the Atlantic, and visited the coasts of Newfoundland and Labradore. The danger, difficulty, and inconvenience that attend long voyages are very different in idea and experience; Mr. Banks however returned, undiscouraged by his first expedition; and when he found that the Endeavour was equipping for a voyage to the South Seas, in order to observe the transit of Venus, and afterwards attempt farther discoveries, he determined to embark in the expedition, that he might enrich his native country with a tribute of knowledge from those

which have been hitherto unknown, and not without hope of leaving among the rude and uncultivated nations that he might discover, something that would render life of more value, and enrich them perhaps in a certain degree with the knowledge, or at least with the productions, of Europe.

As he was determined to spare no expence in the execution of his plan, he engaged Dr. Solander to accompany him in the voyage. This gentleman, by birth a Swede, was educated under the celebrated Linnæus, from whom he brought letters of recommendation into England, and his merit, being soon known, he obtained an appointment in the British Musæum, a public institution, which was then just established; such a companion Mr. Banks considered as an acquisition of no small importance, and to his great satisfaction the event abundantly proved that he was not mistaken. He also took with him two draftsmen, one to delineate views and figures, the other to gain such subjects of natural history as might offer; together with a secretary and four servants, two of whom were negroes.

Mr. Banks kept an accurate and circumstantial journal of the voyage, and soon after I had received that of Captain Cook from the Admiralty, was so obliging as to put it into my hands, with permission to take out of it whatever I thought would improve or embellish the narrative. This was an offer of which I gladly and thankfully accepted; I knew the advantage would be great, for few philosophers have furnished materials for accounts of voyages undertaken to discover new countries. The adventurers in such expeditions have generally looked only upon the great outline of nature, without attending to the variety of shades within, which give life and beauty to the piece.

The papers of Captain Cook contained a very particular account of all the nautical incidents of the voyage, and a very minute description of the figure



and extent of the countries he had visited, with the bearings of the headlands and bays that diversify the coasts, the situation of the harbours in which shipping may obtain refreshments, with the depth of water wherever there were soundings ; the latitudes, longitudes, variation of the needle, and such other particulars as lay in his department ; and abundantly shewed him to be an excellent officer, and skilful navigator. But in the papers which were communicated to me by Mr. Banks, I found a great variety of incidents which had not come under the notice of Captain Cook, with descriptions of countries and people, their productions, manners, customs, religion, policy, and language, much more full and particular than were expected from a gentleman whose station and office naturally turned his principal attention to other objects ; for these particulars, therefore, besides many practical observations, the public is indebted to Mr. Banks. To Mr. Banks also the public is indebted for the designs of the engravings which illustrate and adorn the account of this voyage ; all of them except the maps, charts, and views of the coasts as they appear at sea, being copied from his valuable drawings, and some of them from such as were made for the use of the artists at his expence.

As the materials furnished by Mr. Banks were so interesting and copious, there arose an objection against writing an account of this voyage in the person of the commander, which could have no place with respect to the others : the descriptions and observations of Mr. Banks would be absorbed without any distinction, in a general narrative given under another name ; but this objection he generously overruled, and it therefore became necessary to give some account of the obligations which he has laid upon the public and myself in this place. It is indeed fortunate for mankind, when wealth and science, and a strong inclination to exert the powers

of both for purposes of public benefit, unite in the same person ; and I cannot but congratulate my country upon the prospect of further pleasure and advantage from the same gentleman, to whom we are indebted for so considerable a part of this narrative.

---

AN ACCOUNT  
OF A  
VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

---

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

*The Passage from Plymouth to Madeira, with some Account of that Island.*

HAVING received my commission, which was dated the 25th of May 1768, I went on board on the 27th, hoisted the pennant, and took charge of the ship, which then lay in the bason in Deptford Yard. She was fitted for sea with all expedition; and stores and provisions being taken on board, sailed down on the 30th of July, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound.

While we lay here waiting for a wind, the articles of war and the act of parliament were read to the ship's company, who were paid two months wages in advance, and told that they were to expect no additional pay for the performance of the voyage.

On Friday the 26th of August, the wind becoming fair we got under sail, and put to sea. On the 31st, we saw several of the birds which the sailors call Mother Carey's Chickens, and which they suppose to be the forerunners of a storm; and on the

next day we had a very hard gale, which brought us under our courses, washed over-board a small boat belonging to the boatswain, and drowned three or four dozen of our poultry, which we regretted still more.

On Friday the 2d of September we saw land, between Cape Finister and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain; and on the 5th, by an observation of the sun and moon, we found the latitude of Cape Finister to be  $42^{\circ} 53'$  North, and its longitude  $8^{\circ} 46'$  West, our first meridian being always supposed to pass through Greenwich; variation of the needle  $21^{\circ} 4'$  W.

During this course, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had an opportunity of observing many marine animals, of which no naturalist has hitherto taken notice; particularly, a new species of the *Oniscus*, which was found adhering to the *Medusa Pelagica*; and an animal of an angular figure, about three inches long, and one thick, with a hollow passing quite through it, and a brown spot on one end, which they conjectured might be its stomach; four of these adhered together by their sides when they were taken, so that at first they were thought to be one animal, but upon being put into a glass of water they soon separated, and swam about very briskly. These animals are of a new genus, to which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gave the name of *Dagysa*, from the likeness of one species of them to a gem: several specimens of them were taken adhering together sometimes to the length of a yard or more, and shining in the water with very beautiful colours. Another animal of a new genus they also discovered, which shone in the water with colours still more beautiful and vivid, and which indeed exceeded in variety and brightness any thing that we had ever seen: the colouring and splendour of these animals were equal to those of an opal, and from their resemblance to that gem, the genus was called *Car-*

*cinium Opalinum*. One of them lived several hours in a glass of salt water, swimming about with great agility, and at every motion displaying a change of colours almost infinitely various. We caught also among the rigging of the ship, when we were at the distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finister, several birds which have not been described by Linuæus; they were supposed to have come from Spain, and our gentlemen called the species *Motacilla velificans*, as they said none but sailors would venture themselves on board a ship that was going round the world: one of them was so exhausted that it died in Mr. Banks's hand, almost as soon as it was brought to him.

It was thought extraordinary that no naturalist had hitherto taken notice of the *Dagysa*, as the sea abounds with them not twenty leagues from the coast of Spain; but, unfortunately for the cause of science, there are but very few of those who traverse the sea, that are either disposed or qualified to remark the curiosities of which nature has made it the repository.

On the 12th we discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, and on the next day anchored in Funchiale road, and moored with the stream anchor; but in the night, the bend of the hawser of the stream anchor slipped, owing to the negligence of the person who had been employed to make it fast. In the morning the anchor was heaved up into the boat, and carried out to the southward; but in heaving it again, Mr. Weir the master's mate, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and went to the bottom with the anchor; the people in the ship saw the accident, and got the anchor up with all possible expedition; it was however too late, the body came up intangled in the buoy-rope, but it was dead.

When the island of Madeira is first approached from the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance;

the sides of the hills being entirely covered with vines almost as high as the eye can distinguish; and the vines are green when every kind of herbage, except where they shade the ground, and here and there by the sides of a rill, is intirely burnt up, which was the case at this time.

On the 13th, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a boat which our sailors call the product-boat, came on board from the officers of health, without whose permission no person is suffered to land from on board a ship. As soon as this permission was obtained, we went on shore at Funchiale, the capital of the island, and proceeded directly to the house of Mr. Cheap, who is the English consul there, and one of the most considerable merchants of the place. This gentleman received us with the kindness of a brother, and the liberality of a prince; he insisted upon our taking possession of his house, in which he furnished us with every possible accommodation during our stay upon the island: he procured leave for Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to search the island for such natural curiosities as they should think worth their notice; employed persons to take fish and gather shells, which time would not have permitted them to collect for themselves; and he provided horses and guides to take them to any part of the country which they should chuse to visit. With all these advantages, however, their excursions were seldom pushed farther than three miles from the town; as they were only five days on shore; one of which they spent at home, in receiving the honour of a visit from the governor. The season was the worst in the year for their purpose, as it was neither that of plants nor insects; a few of the plants however were procured in flower, by the kind attention of Dr. Heberden, the chief physician of the island, and brother to Dr. Heberden of London, who also gave them such specimens as he had in his possession, and a copy of his Botanical



Observations ; containing among other things, a particular description of the trees of the island. Mr. Banks enquired after the wood which has been imported into England for cabinet work, and is here called Madeira mahogany ; he learnt that no wood was exported from the island under that name, but he found a tree called by the natives Vigniatico, the *Laurus indicus* of Linnæus, the wood of which cannot easily be distinguished from mahogany. Dr. Heberden has a book-case in which the vigniatico and mahogany are mixed, and they are no otherwise to be known from each other than by the colour, which upon a nice examination, appears to be somewhat less brown in the vigniatico than the mahogany ; it is therefore in the highest degree probable, that the wood known in England by the name of Madeira mahogany, is the vigniatico.

There is great reason to suppose that this whole island was at some remote period thrown up by the explosion of subterraneous fire, as every stone, whether whole or in fragments, that we saw upon it, appeared to have been burnt, and even the sand itself to be nothing more than ashes : we did not, indeed, see much of the country, but the people informed us that what we did see was a very exact specimen of the rest.

The only article of trade in this island is wine, and the manner in which it is made is so simple, that it might have been used by Noah, who is said to have planted the first vineyard after the flood : the grapes are put into a square wooden vessel, the dimensions of which are proportioned to the size of the vineyard to which it belongs ; the servants then, having taken off their stockings and jackets, get into it, and with their feet and elbows, press out as much of the juice as they can ; the stalks are afterwards collected, and being tied together with a rope, are put under a square piece of wood, which is pressed down upon them by a lever with a stone tied to the



end of it. The inhabitants have made so little improvement in knowledge or art, that they have but very lately brought all the fruit of a vineyard to be of one sort by engrafting their vines : there seems to be in mind as there is in matter, a kind of *vis inertiae*, which resists the first impulse to change. He who proposes to assist the artificer or the husbandman by a new application of the principles of philosophy, or the powers of mechanism, will find that his having hitherto done without them, will be a stronger motive for continuing to do without them still, than any advantage, however manifest and considerable, for adopting the improvement. Wherever there is ignorance there is prejudice : and the common people of all nations are, with respect to improvements, like the parish poor of England with respect to a maintenance, for whom the law must not only make a provision, but compel them to accept it, or else they will be still found begging in the streets. It was therefore with great difficulty that the people of Madeira were persuaded to engraft their vines, and some of them still obstinately refuse to adopt the practice, though a whole vintage is very often spoiled by the number of bad grapes which are mixed in the vat, and which they will not throw out, because they increase the quantity of the wine : an instance of the force of habit, which is the more extraordinary, as they have adopted the practice of engrafting with respect to their chesnut-trees, an object of much less importance, which, however, are thus brought to bear sooner than they would otherwise have done.

We saw no wheel-carriages of any sort in the place, which perhaps is not more owing to the want of ingenuity to invent them, than to the want of industry to mend the roads, which, at present, it is impossible that any wheel-carriage should pass : the inhabitants have horses and mules indeed, excellently adapted to such ways ; but there wine is, notwith-

standing, brought to town from the vineyards where it is made, in vessels of goat-skins, which are carried by men upon their heads. The only imitation of a carriage among these people is a board, made somewhat hollow in the middle, to one end of which a pole is tied, by a strap of whit-leather : this wretched sledge approaches about as near to an English cart, as an Indian canoe to a ship's long-boat : and even this would probably never have been thought of, if the English had not introduced wine vessels, which are too big to be carried by hand, and which, therefore, are dragged about the town upon these machines.

One reason, perhaps, why art and industry have done so little for Madeira is, nature's having done so much. The soil is very rich, and there is such a difference of climate between the plains and the hills, that there is scarcely a single object of luxury that grows either in Europe or the Indies, that might not be produced here. When we went to visit Dr. Herberden, who lives upon a considerable ascent, about two miles from town, we left the thermometer at 74, and when we arrived at his house, we found it at 66. The hills produce, almost spontaneously, walnuts, chesnuts, and apples in great abundance ; and in the town there are many plants which are the natives both of the East and West Indies, particularly the banana, the guava, the pine-apple or anana, and the mango, which flourish almost without culture. The corn of this country is of a most excellent quality, large grained and very fine, and the island would produce it in great plenty ; yet most of what is consumed by the inhabitants is imported. The mutton, pork, and beef are also very good ; the beef in particular, which we took on board here, was universally allowed to be scarcely inferior to our own ; the lean part was very like it, both in colour and grain, though the beasts are

much smaller, but the fat is as white as the fat of mutton.

The town of Funchiale derives its name from *Funcho*, the Portuguese name for fennel, which grows in great plenty upon the neighbouring rocks, and by the observation of Dr. Heberden, lies in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 33' 33''$  N. and longitude  $16^{\circ} 49'$  W. It is situated in the bottom of a bay, and though larger than the extent of the island seems to deserve, is very ill-built; the houses of the principal inhabitants are large, those of the common people are small, the streets are narrow, and worse paved than any I ever saw. The churches are loaded with ornaments, among which are many pictures, and images of favourite saints; but the pictures are in general wretchedly painted, and the saints are dressed in laced clothes. Some of the convents are in a better taste, especially that of the Franciscans, which is plain, simple, and neat in the highest degree. The infirmary in particular drew our attention as a model which might be adopted in other countries with great advantage. It consists of a long room, on one side of which are the windows, and an altar for the convenience of administering the sacrament to the sick: the other side is divided into wards, each of which is just big enough to contain a bed, and neatly lined with gally-tiles; behind these wards, and parallel to the room in which they stand, there runs a long gallery, with which each ward communicates by a door, so that the sick may be separately supplied with whatever they want without disturbing their neighbours. In this convent there is also a singular curiosity of another kind; a small chapel, the whole lining of which, both sides and ceiling, is composed of human skulls and thigh bones; the thigh bones are laid across each other, and a skull is placed in each of the four angles. Among the skulls one is very remarkable, the upper and

lower jaw on one side, perfectly and firmly cohere; how the ossification which unites them was formed, it is not perhaps very easy to conceive, but it is certain that the patient must have lived some time without opening his mouth; what nourishment he received was conveyed through a hole which we discovered to have been made on the other side, by forcing out some of the teeth, in doing which the jaw also seems to have been injured.

We visited the good fathers of this convent on a Thursday evening, just before supper-time; and they received us with great politeness: "We will not ask you, said they, to sup with us, because we are not prepared, but if you will come to-morrow, though it is a fast with us, we will have a turkey roasted for you." This invitation, which shewed a liberality of sentiment not to have been expected in a convent of Portuguese friars at this place, gratified us much, though it was not in our power to accept it.

We visited also a convent of nuns, dedicated to *Santa Clara*, and the ladies did us the honour to express a particular pleasure in seeing us there; they had heard that there were great philosophers among us, and not at all knowing what were the objects of philosophical knowledge, they asked us several questions that were absurd and extravagant in the highest degree; one was, when it would thunder; and another, whether a spring of fresh water was to be found any where within the walls of their convent, of which it seems they were in great want. It will naturally be supposed that our answers to such questions were neither satisfactory to the ladies, nor, in their estimation, honourable to us; yet their disappointment did not in the least lessen their civility, and they talked without ceasing, during the whole of our visit, which lasted about half an hour.

The hills of this country are very high, the high-

est, Pico Ruivo, rises 5,068 feet, near an English mile, perpendicularly from its base, which is much higher than any land which has been measured in Great Britain. The sides of these hills are covered with vines to a certain height, above which there are woods of chesnut and pine of immense extent, and above them forests of wild timber of various kinds not known in Europe; particularly two, called by the Portuguese *Mirmulano* and *Paobranco*, the leaves of both which, particularly the *Paobranco*, are so beautiful, that these trees would be a great ornament to the gardens of Europe.

The number of inhabitants in this island is supposed to be about 80,000, and the custom-house duties produce a revenue to the king of Portugal of 20,000 pounds a year, clear of all expences, which might easily be doubled by the product of the island, exclusive of the vines, if advantage was taken of the excellence of the climate, and the amazing fertility of the soil; but this subject is utterly neglected by the Portuguese. In the trade of the inhabitants of Madeira with Lisbon, the balance is against them, so that all the Portuguese money naturally going thither, the currency of the island is Spanish; there are indeed a few Portuguese pieces of copper, but they are so scarce that we did not see one of them: the Spanish coin is of three denominations; pistereens, worth about a shilling, bitts worth about sixpence, and half-bitts three-pence.

The tides at this place flow at the full and change of the moon, north and south; the spring tides rise seven feet perpendicular, and the neap tides four. By Dr. Heberden's observation, the variation of the compass here is now  $15^{\circ} 30'$  West, and decreasing; but I have some doubt whether he is not mistaken with respect to its decrease; we found that the north point of the dipping needle belonging to the Royal Society dipped  $77^{\circ} 18''$ .

The refreshments to be had here, are water, wine,

fruit of several sorts, onions in plenty, and some sweetmeats; fresh meat and poultry are not to be had without leave from the governor, and the payment of a very high price.

We took in 270 lb. of fresh beef, and a live bullock, charged at 613 lb. 3,032 gallons of water, and ten tuns of wine; and in the night, between Sunday the 18th and Monday the 19th of September, we set sail in prosecution of our voyage.

When Funchiale bore North, 13 East, at the distance of 76 miles, the variation appeared by several azimuths to be  $16^{\circ} 30'$  West.

---



## CHAP. II.

*The Passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, with some Account of the Country, and the Incidents that happened there.*

ON the 21st of September, we saw the islands called the Salvages, to the north of the Canaries; when the principal of these bore S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. at the distance of about five leagues we found the variation of the compass by an azimuth to be  $17^{\circ} 50'$ . I make these islands to lie in latitude  $30^{\circ} 11'$  North, and distant 58 leagues from Funchiale in Madeira, in the direction of S. 16 E.

On Friday the 23d we saw the Peake of Teneriffe bearing W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and found the variation of the compass to be from  $17^{\circ} 22'$  to  $16^{\circ} 30'$ . The height of this mountain, from which I took a new departure, has been determined by Dr. Heberden, who has been upon it, to be 15,396 feet, which is but 148 yards less than three miles, reckoning the mile at 1760 yards. Its appearance at sunset was very striking; when the sun was below the horizon, and the rest of the island appeared of a deep black, the mountain still reflected his rays, and glowed with a warmth of colour which no painting can express. There is no eruption of visible fire from it, but a heat issues from the chinks near the top, too strong to be borne by the hand when it is held near them. We had received from Dr. Heberden, among other favours some salt which he collected on the top of the mountain, where it is found in large quantities, and which he supposes to be the true *natrum* or *nitrum* of the ancients: he gave us also some native sulphur



exceedingly pure, which he had likewise found upon the surface in great plenty.

On the next day, Saturday the 24th, we came into the north east trade wind, and on Friday the 30th saw Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands ; we ranged the east side of it, at the distance of three or four miles from the shore, till we were obliged to haul off to avoid a ledge of rocks which stretch out S.W. by W. from the body, or S. E. point of the island, to the extent of a league and an half. Bona Vista by our observation lies in latitude 16 N. and longitude  $21^{\circ} 51'$  West.

On the 1st of October, in latitude  $14^{\circ} 6'$  N. and longitude  $22^{\circ} 10'$  W. we found the variation by a very good azimuth to be  $10^{\circ} 37'$  W. and the next morning it appeared to be  $10^{\circ}$ . This day we found the ship five miles a-head of the log, and the next day seven. On the third, hoisted out the boat to discover whether there was a current, and found one to the eastward, at the rate of three quarters of a mile an hour.

During our course from Teneriffe to Bona Vista we saw great numbers of flying fish, which from the cabbin windows appear beautiful beyond imagination, their sides having the colour and brightness of burnished silver ; when they are seen from the deck, they do not appear to so much advantage, because their backs are of a dark colour. We also took a shark, which proved to be the *Squalus Carcharias* of Linnæus.

Having lost the trade wind on the 3d, in latitude  $12^{\circ} 14'$  and longitude  $22^{\circ} 10'$ , the wind became somewhat variable, and we had light airs and calms by turns.

On the 7th, Mr. Banks went out in the boat and took what the seamen call a Portuguese man of war ; it is the *Holuthuria Physalis* of Linnæus, and a species of the *Mollusca*. It consisted of a small bladder about seven inches long, very much resembling the air-

bladder of fishes, from the bottom of which descend a number of strings, of a bright blue and red, some of them three or four feet in length, which upon being touched sting like a nettle, but with much more force. On the top of the bladder is a membrane which is used as a sail, and turned so as to receive the wind which way soever it blows; this membrane is marked in fine pink coloured veins, and the animal is in every respect an object exquisitely curious and beautiful.

We also took several of the shell-fishes, or testaceous animals, which are always found floating upon the water, particularly the *helix janthina* and *violacea*; they are about the size of a snail, and are supported upon the surface of the water by a small cluster of bubbles, which are filled with air, and consist of a tenacious slimy substance that will not easily part with its contents; the animal is oviparous, and these bubbles serve also as a *nidus* for its eggs. It is probable that it never goes down to the bottom, nor willingly approaches any shore; for the shell is exceedingly brittle, and that of few fresh water snails is so thin: every shell contains about a tea-spoonful of liquor, which it easily discharges upon being touched, and which is of the most beautiful red purple that can be conceived. It dyes linen cloth, and it may perhaps be worth inquiry, as the shell is certainly found in the Mediterranean, whether it be not the *purpura* of the ancients.

On the 8th, in latitude  $8^{\circ} 25'$  North, longitude  $22^{\circ} 4'$  West, we found a current setting to the southward, which the next day in latitude  $7^{\circ} 58'$ , longitude  $22^{\circ} 13'$  shifted to the N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. at the rate of one mile and a furlong an hour. The variation here, by the mean of several azimuths, appeared to be  $8^{\circ} 39'$  W.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks shot the black-toed gull, not yet described according to Linnæus's

system; he gave it the name of *Larus crepidatus*: it is remarkable that the dung of this bird is of a lively red, somewhat like that of the liquor procured from the shells, only not so full; its principal food, therefore, is probably the *helix* just mentioned. A current to the N.W. prevailed more or less till Monday, the 24th, when we were in latitude  $1^{\circ} 7' N.$  and longitude  $28^{\circ} 50'$ .

On the 25th we crossed the line with the usual ceremonies in longitude  $29^{\circ} 30'$ , when by the result of several very good azimuths, the variation was  $2^{\circ} 24'$ .

On the 28th at noon, being in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha, and by the mean of several observations by Mr. Green and myself, in longitude  $32^{\circ} 5' 16'' W.$  which is to the westward of it by some charts, and to the eastward by others, we expected to see the island, or some of the shoals that are laid down in the charts, between it and the main, but we saw neither one nor the other.

In the evening of the 29th, we observed that luminous appearance of the sea which has been so often mentioned by navigators, and of which such various causes have been assigned; some supposing it to be occasioned by fish, which agitated the water by darting at their prey, some by the putrefaction of fish and other marine animals, some by electricity, and others referring it into a great variety of different causes. It appeared to emit flashes of light, exactly resembling those of lightning, only not so considerable; but they were so frequent that sometimes eight or ten were visible almost at the same moment. We were of opinion that they proceeded from some luminous animal, and upon throwing out the casting net our opinion was confirmed: it brought up a species of the *medusa*, which when it came on board had the appearance of metal violently heated, and emitted a white light; with these animals were taken some very small crabs, of three different species, each of which gave as much light as a glow-worm, though the creature was not so large by nine

tenths : upon examination of these animals Mr. Banks had the satisfaction to find that they were all entirely new.

On Wednesday the 2d of November, about noon, being in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 38'$  S. and longitude  $32^{\circ} 13' 43''$  W. we passed the line in which the needle at this time would have pointed due north and south without any variation ; for in the morning, having decreased gradually in its deviation for some days, it was no more than  $18'$  W. and in the afternoon it was  $34'$  East.

On the 6th, being in latitude  $19^{\circ} 3'$  South, longitude  $35^{\circ} 50'$  West, the colour of the water was observed to change, upon which we sounded, and found ground at the depth of 32 fathoms ; the lead was cast three times within about four hours without a foot difference in the depth or quality of the bottom, which was coral rock, fine sand, and shells ; we therefore supposed that we had passed over the tail of the great shoal which is laid down in all our charts by the name of *Abrothos*, on which Lord Anson struck soundings in his passage outwards : at four the next morning we had no ground with 100 fathom.

As several articles of our stock and provisions now began to fall short, I determined to put into Rio de Janeiro, rather than at any port in Brazil, or Falkland's Islands, knowing that it could better supply us with what we wanted, and making no doubt but that we should be well received.

On the 8th at day break, we saw the coast of Brazil, and about ten o'clock we brought to, and spoke with a fishing boat ; the people on board told us that the land which we saw lay to the southward of *Sancto Espirito*, but belonged to the captainship of that place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on board this vessel, in which they found eleven men, nine of whom were blacks ; they all fished with lines, and their fresh cargo, the chief part of which Mr.

Banks bought, consisted of dolphins, large pelagic scombers of two kinds, sea bream, and some of the fish, which in the West Indies are called Welshmen. Mr. Banks had taken Spanish silver with him, which he imagined to be the currency of the continent, but to his great surprize the people asked him for English shillings; he gave them two which he happened to have about him, and it was not without some dispute that they took the rest of the money in pistereens. Their business seemed to be to catch large fish at a good distance from the shore, which they salted in bulk, in a place made for that purpose in the middle of their boat: of this merchandize they had about two quintals on board, which they offered for about 16s. and would probably have sold for half the money. The fresh fish, which was bought for about nineteen shillings and sixpence, served the whole ship's company; the salt was not wanted.

The sea provision of these fishermen consisted of nothing more than a cask of water, and a bag of Cassada flour, which they called *farinha de pao*, or wooden flour, which indeed is a name which very well suits its taste and appearance. Their water cask was large, as wide as their boat, and exactly fitted a place that was made for it in the ballast; it was impossible therefore to draw out any of its contents by a tap, the sides being from the bottom to the top, wholly inaccessible; neither could any be taken out by dipping a vessel in at the head, for an opening sufficiently wide for that purpose, would have endangered the loss of great part of it by the rolling of the vessel: their expedient to get at their water so situated was curious; when one of them wanted to drink, he applied to his neighbour, who accompanied him to the water cask with a hollow cane about three feet long, which was open at both ends; this he thrust into the cask through a small hole in the top, and then, stopping



the upper end with the palm of his hand, drew it out ; the pressure of the air against the other end keeping in the water which it contained ; to this end the person who wanted to drink applied his mouth, and the assistant then taking his hand from the other, and admitting the air above, the cane immediately parted with its contents, which the drinker drew off till he was satisfied.

• We stood off and on along the shore till the 12th, and successively saw a remarkable hill near Santo Espirito, then Cape St. Thomas, and then an island just without Cape Frio, which in some maps is called the island of Frio, and which being high with a hollow in the middle has the appearance of two islands when seen at a distance. On this day we stood along the shore for Rio de Janeiro, and at nine the next morning made sail for the harbour. I then sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, before us in the pinnace up to the city, to acquaint the governor that we put in there to procure water and refreshments : and to desire the assistance of a pilot to bring us into proper anchoring-ground. I continued to stand up the river, trusting to Mr. Bellisle's draught published in the *Petit Atlas Maritime*, Vol. II. N<sup>o</sup> 54, which we found very good, till five o'clock in the evening, expecting the return of my lieutenant ; and just as I was about to anchor above the island of Cobras, which lies before the city, the pinnace came back without him, having on board a Portuguese officer, but no pilot. The people in the boat told me, that my lieutenant was detained by the viceroy till I should go on shore. We came immediately to an anchor ; and almost at the same time, a ten-oared boat, full of soldiers came up and kept rowing round the ship, without exchanging a word : in less than a quarter of an hour, another boat came on board with several of the viceroy's officers, who asked, Whence we came ; what was our cargo ; the number of men

and guns on board ; the object of our voyage, and several other questions, which we directly and truly answered : they then told me as a kind of apology for detaining my lieutenant, and putting an officer on board my pinnace, that it was the invariable custom of the place, to detain the first officer who came on shore from any ship on her arrival, till a boat from the viceroy had visited her, and to suffer no boat to go either from or to a ship, while she lay there, without having a soldier on board. They said that I might go on shore when I pleased ; but wished that every other person might remain on board, till the paper which they should draw up had been delivered to the viceroy, promising that immediately upon their return, the lieutenant should be sent on board.

This promise was performed, and on the next morning, the 14th, I went on shore, and obtained leave of the viceroy to purchase provisions and refreshments for the ship, provided I would employ one of their own people as a factor, but not otherwise. I made some objections to this, but he insisted upon it as the custom of the place. I objected also against the putting a soldier into the boat every time she went between the ship and the shore ; but he told me that this was done by the express orders of his court, with which he could in no case dispense. I then requested that the gentlemen whom I had on board, might reside on shore during our stay, and that Mr. Banks might go up the country to gather plants ; but this he absolutely refused. I judged from his extreme caution, and the severity of these reflections, that he suspected we were come to trade ; I therefore took some pains to convince him of the contrary. I told him, that we were bound to the southward, by the order of his Britannic Majesty, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the Sun, an astronomical phenomenon of great importance to navigation. Of the transit



of Venus, however, he could form no other conception, than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole, for these are the very words of his interpreter, who was a Swede, and spoke English very well. I did not think it necessary to ask permission for the gentlemen to come on shore during the day, or that, when I was on shore myself, I might be at liberty, taking for granted that nothing was intended to the contrary; but in this I was unfortunately mistaken. As soon as I took leave of his excellency, I found an officer who had orders to attend me wherever I went: of this I desired an explanation, and was told that it was meant as a compliment; I earnestly desired to be excused from accepting such an honour, but the good viceroy would by no means suffer it to be dispensed with.

With this officer, therefore, I returned on board about twelve o'clock, where I was impatiently expected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who made no doubt but that a fair account of us having been given by the officers who had been on board the evening before, in their paper, called a *practica*, and every scruple of the viceroy removed in my conference with his excellency, they should immediately be at liberty to go on shore and dispose of themselves as they pleased. Their disappointment at receiving my report may easily be conceived; and it was still increased by an account, that it had been resolved, not only to prevent their residing on shore, and going up the country, but even their leaving the ship; orders having been given that no person except the captain, and such common sailors as were required to be upon duty, should be permitted to land; and that there was probably a particular view to the passengers in this prohibition, as they were reported to be gentlemen sent abroad to make observations and discoveries, and were uncommonly quali-

fied for that purpose. In the evening, however, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander dressed themselves, and attempted to go on shore, in order to make a visit to the viceroy ; but they were stopped by the guard boat, which had come off with our pinnace, and which kept hovering round the ship all the while she lay here, for that purpose ; the officer on board saying, that he had particular orders, which he could not disobey, to suffer no passenger, nor any officer except the captain, to pass the boat. After much expostulation to no purpose, they were obliged, with whatever reluctance and mortification, to return on board. I then went on shore myself, but found the viceroy inflexible ; he had one answer ready for every thing I could say, 'That the restrictions under which he had laid us, were in obedience to the King of Portugal's commands, and therefore indispensible.

In this situation I determined, rather than be made a prisoner in my own boat, to go on shore no more ; for the officer who, under pretence of a compliment, attended me when I was ashore, insisted also upon going with me to and from the ship : but still imagining that the scrupulous vigilance of the viceroy must proceed from some mistaken notion about us, which might more easily be removed by writing than in conversation, I drew up a memorial, and Mr. Banks drew up another, which we sent on shore. These memorials were both answered ; but by no means to our satisfaction ; we therefore replied : in consequence of which, several other papers were interchanged between us and the viceroy, but still without effect. However, as I thought some degree of force, on the part of the viceroy, to enforce these restrictions, necessary to justify my acquiescence in them to the Admiralty ; I gave orders to my lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, when I sent him with our last reply on Sunday the 20th, in the evening, not to suffer a guard to be put into his boat. When

the officer on board the guard-boat found that Mr. Hicks was determined to obey my orders, he did not proceed to force, but attended him to the landing-place, and reported the matter to the viceroy. Upon this his excellency refused to receive the memorial, and ordered Mr. Hicks to return to the ship; when he came back to the boat, he found that a guard had been put on board in his absence, but he absolutely refused to return till the soldier was removed; the officer then proceeded to enforce the viceroy's orders; he seized all the boat's crew, and sent them under an armed force to prison, putting Mr. Hicks at the same time into one of their own boats, and sending him under a guard back to the ship. As soon as he had reported these particulars, I wrote again to the viceroy, demanding my boat and crew, and in my letter inclosed the memorial which he had refused to receive from Mr. Hicks; these papers I sent by a petty officer, that I might waive the dispute about a guard, against which I had never objected except when there was a commissioned officer on board the boat. The petty officer was permitted to go on shore with his guard, and having delivered his letter, was told that an answer would be sent the next day.

About eight o'clock this evening it began to blow very hard in sudden gusts from the south, and our long-boat coming on board just at this time with four pipes of rum, the rope which was thrown to her from the ship, and which was taken hold of by the people on board, unfortunately broke, and the boat which had come to the ship before the wind, went adrift to windward of her, with a small skiff of Mr. Banks's that was fastened to her stern. This was a great misfortune, as the pinnace being detained on shore, we had no boat on board but a four-oared yawl, the yawl, however, was immediately manned and sent to her assistance; but notwithstanding the utmost effort of the people in both boats, they were

very soon out of sight; far indeed we could not see at that time in the evening, but the distance was enough to convince us that they were not under command, which gave us great uneasiness, as we knew they must drive directly upon a reef of rocks which ran out just to leeward of where we lay; after waiting some hours in the utmost anxiety, we gave them over for lost, but about three o'clock the next morning had the satisfaction to see all the people come on board in the yawl. From them we learnt that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grapling and left her; and that having fallen in with a reef of rocks in their return to the ship, they had been obliged to cut Mr. Bank's little boat adrift. As the loss of our long-boat, which we had now too much reason to apprehend, would have been an unspeakable disadvantage to us, considering the nature of our expedition, I sent another letter to the viceroy, as soon as I thought he could be seen, acquainting him with our misfortune, and requesting the assistance of a boat from the shore for the recovery of our own; I also renewed my demand that the pinnace and her crew should be no longer detained; after some delay, his excellency thought fit to comply both with my request and demand; and the same day we happily recovered both the long-boat and skiff with the rum, but every thing else that was on board was lost. On the 23d, the viceroy, in his answer to my remonstrance against seizing my men and detaining the boat, acknowledged that I had been treated with some incivility, but said that the resistance of my officers to what he had declared to be the king's orders, made it absolutely necessary; he also expressed some doubts whether the Endeavour, considering her structure and other circumstances, was in the service of his Majesty, though I had before shewed him my commission; to this I answered in writing, that to remove all scruples, I was ready to produce

my commission again. His excellency's scruples however still remained, and in his reply to my letter he not only expressed them in still plainer terms, but accused my people of smuggling. This charge I am confident was without the least foundation in truth. Mr. Banks's servants had indeed found means to go on shore on the 22d at day-break, and stay till it was dark in the evening, but they brought on board only plants and insects, having been sent for no other purpose. And I had the greatest reason to believe that not a single article was smuggled by any of our people who were admitted on shore, though many artful means were used to tempt them, even by the very officers that were under his excellency's roof, which made the charge still more injurious and provoking. I have indeed some reason to suspect that one poor fellow bought a single bottle of rum with some of the clothes upon his back; and in my answer I requested of his excellency, that if such an attempt at illicit trade should be repeated, he would without scruple order the offender to be taken into custody. And thus ended our altercation, both by conference and writing, with the viceroy of Rio de Janeiro.

A friar in the town having requested the assistance of our surgeon, Dr. Solander easily got admittance in that character on the 25th, and received many marks of civility from the people. On the 26th, before day-break, Mr. Banks also found means to elude the vigilance of the people in the guard-boat and got on shore; he did not however go into the town, for the principal objects of his curiosity were to be found in the fields, to him also the people behaved with great civility, many of them invited him to their houses, and he bought a porker and some other things of them for the ship's company; the porker, which was by no means lean, cost him eleven shillings, and he paid something less than two for a Muscovy duck.



On the 27th, when the boats returned from watering, the people told us there was a report in town that search was making after some persons who had been on shore from the ship without the Viceroy's permission: these persons we conjectured to be Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks, and therefore they determined to go on shore no more.

On the 1st of December, having got our water and other necessaries on board, I sent to the viceroy for a pilot to carry us to sea, who came off to us; but the wind preventing us from getting out, we took on board a plentiful supply of fresh beef, yams, and greens for the ship's company. On the 2d, a Spanish packet arrived, with letters from Buenos Ayres for Spain, commanded by Don Antonio de Monte Negro y Velasco, who with great politeness offered to take our letters to Europe; I accepted the favour, and gave him a packet for the Secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had passed between me and the viceroy; leaving also duplicates with the viceroy, to be by him forwarded to Lisbon.

On Monday the 5th, it being a dead calm, we weighed anchor and towed down the bay, but to our great astonishment, when we got abreast of Santa Cruz, the principal fortification, two shots were fired at us. We immediately cast anchor, and sent to the fort to enquire the reason of what had happened; our people brought us word that the commandant had received no order from the viceroy to let us pass; and that, without such an order, no vessel was ever suffered to go below the fort. It was now, therefore, become necessary that we should send to the viceroy, to enquire why the necessary order had not been given, as he had notice of our departure, and had thought fit to write me a polite letter, wishing me a good voyage. Our messenger soon returned with an account, that the order had been written some days, but by an unaccountable negligence not sent.

We did not get under sail till the 7th, and when we had passed the fort, the pilot desired to be discharged. As soon as he was dismissed, we were left by our guard-boat, which had hovered about us from the first hour of our being in this place to the last: and Mr. Banks having been prevented from going ashore at Rio de Janeiro, availed himself of her departure to examine the neighbouring islands, where, particularly on one in the mouth of the harbour called Raza, he gathered many species of plants, and caught a variety of insects.

It is remarkable, that during the last three or four days of our staying in this harbour, the air was loaded with butterflies; they were chiefly of one sort, but in such numbers that thousands were in view in every direction, and the greatest part of them above our mast-head.

We lay here from the 14th of November to the 7th of December, something more than three weeks, during which time Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, was on shore every day to buy our provisions; Dr. Solander was on shore once, I was several times on shore myself, and Mr. Banks also found means to get into the country, notwithstanding the watch that was set over us. I shall, therefore, with the intelligence obtained from these gentlemen, and my own observations give some account of the town, and the country adjacent.

Rio de Janeiro, or the river of Januarius, was probably so called from its having been discovered on the feast-day of that saint: and the town which is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in America, derives its name from the river, which indeed is rather an arm of the sea, for it did not appear to receive any considerable stream of fresh water; it stands on a plain, close to the shore, on the west side of the bay, at the foot of several high mountains which rise behind it. It is neither ill designed, nor ill built, the houses in general, are of stone, and two stories high; every house having, after the manner of the Portuguese, a little balcony before its windows, and



a lattice of wood before the balcony. I computed its circuit to be about three miles; for it appears to be equal in size to the largest country towns in England, Bristol and Liverpool not excepted; the streets are straight, and of a convenient breadth, intersecting each other at right angles; the greater part, however, lie in a line with the citadel, called St. Sebastian, which stands on the top of a hill that commands the town.

It is supplied with water from the neighbouring hills by an aqueduct, which is raised upon two stories of arches, and is said in some places to be at a great height from the ground, from which the water is conveyed by pipes into a fountain in the great square that exactly fronts the viceroy's palace. At this fountain great numbers of people are continually waiting for their turn to draw water; and the soldiers, who are posted at the governor's door, find it very difficult to maintain any regularity among them. The water at this fountain, however, is so bad, that we, who had been two months at sea, confined to that in our casks, which was almost always foul, could not drink it with pleasure. Water of a better quality is laid into some other part of the town, but I could not learn by what means.

The churches are very fine, and there is more religious parade in this place than in any of the Popish countries in Europe; there is a procession of some parish every day, with various insignia, all splendid and costly in the highest degree: they beg money and say prayers in great form, at the corner of every street.

While we lay here, one of the churches was rebuilding; and to defray the expence, the parish to which it belonged had leave to beg in procession through the whole city once a week, by which very considerable sums were collected. At this ceremony, which was performed by night, all the boys of a certain age were obliged to assist, the sons of gentlemen not being excused. Each of these boys was dressed in a black cassock, with a short red cloak,

hanging about as low as the waist, and carried in his hand a pole about six or seven feet long, at the end of which was tied a lantern: the number of lanterns was generally above two hundred, and the light they gave was so great, that the people who saw it from the cabbin-windows thought the town had been on fire.

The inhabitants, however, may pay their devotions at the shrine of any saint in the calendar, without waiting till there is a procession; for before almost every house there is a little cupboard, furnished with a glass window, in which one of these tutelary powers is waiting to be gracious; and to prevent his being out of mind, by being out of sight, a lamp is kept constantly burning before the window of his tabernacle in the night. The people indeed are by no means remiss in their devotions, for before these saints they pray and sing hymns with such vehemence that in the night they were very distinctly heard on board the ship, though she lay at the distance of at least half a mile from the town.

The government here, as to its form, is mixed; it is notwithstanding very despotic in fact. It consists of the viceroy, the governor of the town and a council, the number of which I could not learn; without the consent of this council, in which the viceroy has a casting vote, no judicial act should be performed; yet both the viceroy and governor frequently commit persons to prison at their own pleasure, and sometimes send them to Lisbon, without acquainting their friends or family with what is laid to their charge, or where they may be found.

To restrain the people from travelling into the country, and getting into any district where gold or diamonds may be found, of both which there is much more than the government can otherwise secure, certain bounds are prescribed them, at the discretion of the viceroy, sometimes at a few, and sometimes at many miles distance from the city. On the verge of these limits a guard constantly patrols,

and whoever is found beyond it, is immediately seized and thrown into prison; and if a man is, upon any pretence, taken up by the guard without the limits, he will be sent to prison, though it should appear that he did not know their extent.

The inhabitants, which are very numerous, consist of Portuguese, Negroes, and Indians, the original natives of the country. The township of Rio, which as I was told, is but a small part of the Capitanea, or province, is said to contain 37,000 white persons, and 629,000 blacks, many of whom are free, making together 666,000, in the proportion of seventeen to one. The Indians, who are employed to do the king's work in this neighbourhood, can scarcely be considered as inhabitants; their residence is at a distance, from whence they come by turns to their task, which they are obliged to perform for a small pay. The guard-boat was constantly rowed by these people, who are of a light copper colour, and have long black hair.

The military establishment here consists of twelve regiments of regular troops, six of which are Portuguese and six Creoles; and twelve other regiments of provincial militia. To the regulars the inhabitants behave with the utmost humility and submission; and I was told, that if any of them should neglect to take off his hat upon meeting an officer, he would immediately be knocked down. These haughty severities render the people extremely civil to any stranger who has the appearance of a gentleman. But the subordination of the officers themselves to the viceroy is enforced with circumstances equally mortifying, for they are obliged to attend in his hall three times every day to ask his commands: the answer constantly is, "there is nothing new." I have been told, that this servile attendance is exacted to prevent their going into the country; and if so, it effectually answers the purpose.

It is, I believe, universally allowed that the women both of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements

in South America, make less difficulty of granting personal favours, than those of any other civilized country in the world. Of the ladies of this town some have formed so unfavourable an opinion as to declare, that they did not believe there was a modest one among them. This censure is certainly too general, but what Dr. Solander saw of them when he was on shore, gave him no very exalted idea of their chastity ; he told me that as soon as it was dark, one or more of them appeared in every window, and distinguished those whom they liked among the gentlemen that walked past them, by giving them nose-gays ; that he, and two gentlemen who were with him, received so many of these favours, that at the end of their walk, which was not a long one, they threw whole hatfuls of them away. Great allowance must certainly be made for local customs, that which in one country would be an indecent familiarity, is a mere act of general courtesy in another ; of the fact, therefore, which I have related, I shall say nothing, but that I am confident it is true.

Neither will I take upon me to affirm, that murders are frequently committed here ; but the churches afford an asylum to the criminal, and as our cockswain was one day looking at two men, who appeared to be talking together in a friendly manner, one of them suddenly drew a knife and stabbed the other ; who not instantly falling, the murderer withdrew the weapon, and stabbed him a second time. He then ran away, and was pursued by some negroes who were also witnesses of the fact ; but whether he escaped or was taken I never heard.

The country, at a small distance round the town, which is all that any of us saw, is beautiful in the highest degree ; the wildest spots being varied with a greater luxuriance of flowers, both as to number and beauty, than the best gardens in England.

Upon the trees and bushes sat an almost endless variety of birds, especially small ones, many of them

covered with the most elegant plumage ; among which were the humming-bird. Of insects, too, there was a great variety, and some of them very beautiful, but they were much more nimble than those of Europe, especially the butterflies, most of which flew near the tops of the trees, and were therefore very difficult to be caught, except when the sea breeze blew fresh, which kept them nearer to the ground.

The banks of the sea, and of the small brooks which water this part of the country, are almost covered with the small crabs called *cancer vocans* ; some of these had one of the claws, called by naturalists the hand, very large ; others had them both remarkably small, and of equal size, a difference which is said to distinguish the sexes, that with the large claw being the male.

There is the appearance of but little cultivation ; the greater part of the land is wholly uncultivated, and very little care and labour seem to have been bestowed upon the rest ; there are indeed little patches or gardens, in which many kinds of European garden stuff are produced, particularly cabbages, peas, beans, kidney-beans, turnips, and white radishes, but all much inferior to our own : water melons and pine apples, are also produced in these spots, and they are the only fruits we saw cultivated, though the country produces musk melons, oranges, limes, lemons, sweet lemons, citrons, plantains, bananas, mangos, mamane apples, acajou or cashou apples and nuts ; jamboira of two kinds, one of which bears a small black fruit ; cocoa-nuts, mangos, palm nuts of two kinds, one long, the other round ; and palm berries, all which were in season while we were there.

Of these fruits the water melons and oranges are the best in their kind ; the pine apples are much inferior to those that I have eaten in England ; they are indeed more juicy and sweet, but have no flavour. I believe them to be natives of this country, though



we heard of none that at this time grow wild; they have, however, very little care bestowed upon them, the plants being set between beds of any kind of garden-stuff, and suffered to take the chance of the season. The melons are still worse, at least those that we tasted, which were mealy and insipid; but the water melons are excellent; they have a flavour, at least a degree of acidity, which ours have not. We saw also several species of the prickly pear, and some European fruits, particularly the apple and peach, both which were very mealy and insipid. In these gardens also grow yams, and mandihoca, which in the West Indies is called Cassada or Cassava, and to the flour of which the people here, as I have before observed, given the name of *farinha de pau*, which may not improperly be translated, powder of post. The soil, though it produces tobacco and sugar, will not produce bread-corn; so that the people here have no wheat-flour, but what is brought from Portugal, and sold at the rate of a shilling a pound, though it is generally spoiled by being heated in its passage. Mr. Banks is of opinion, that all the products of our West Indian islands would grow here; notwithstanding which, the inhabitants import their coffee and chocolate from Lisbon.

Most of the land, as far as we saw of the country, is laid down in grass, upon which cattle are pastured in great plenty, but they are so lean, that an Englishman will scarcely eat of their flesh; the herbage of these pastures consists principally of cresses, and consequently is so short, that though it may afford a bite for horses and sheep, it can scarcely be grazed by horned cattle in a sufficient quantity to keep them alive.

This country may possibly produce many valuable drugs; but we could not find any in the apothecaries shops, except *parcira brava*, and *balsam capivi*; both of which were excellent in their kind, and sold at a very low price. The drug trade is probably car-

ried on to the northward, as well as that of the dying woods, for we could get no intelligence of either of them here.

As to manufactures, we neither saw nor heard of any except that of cotton hammocks, in which people are carried about here, as they are with us in sedan chairs; and these are principally, if not wholly, fabricated by the Indians.

The riches of the place consist chiefly in the mines which we supposed to lie far up the country, though we could never learn where, or at what distance; for the situation is concealed as much as possible, and troops are continually employed in guarding the roads that lead to them; it is almost impossible for any man to get a sight of them, except those who are employed there; and indeed the strongest curiosity would scarcely induce any man to attempt it, for whoever is found upon the road to them, if he cannot give undeniable evidence of his having business there, is immediately hanged up upon the next tree.

Much gold is certainly brought from these mines, but at an expence of life that must strike every man, to whom custom has not made it familiar, with horror. No less than forty thousand negroes are annually imported on the king's account, to dig the mines; and we were credibly informed, that the last year but one before we arrived here, this number fell so short, probably from some epidemic disease, that twenty thousand more were draughted from the town of Rio.

Precious stones are also found here in such plenty, that a certain quantity only is allowed to be collected in a year; to collect this quantity, a number of people are sent into the country where they are found, and when it is got together, which sometimes happens in a month, sometimes in less and sometimes in more, they return; and after that, whoever is



found in these precious districts, on any pretence, before the next year, is immediately put to death.

The jewels found here, are diamonds, topazes of several kinds, and amethysts. We did not see any of the diamonds, but were informed that the viceroy had a large quantity by him, which he would sell on the king of Portugal's account, but not at a less price than they are sold for in Europe. Mr. Banks bought a few topazes and amethysts as specimens: of the topazes there are three sorts, of very different value, which are distinguished here by the names of *Pinga d' agua qualidade primeiro*, *Pinga d' agua qualidade secundo*, and *Chrystallos armerillos*: they are sold large and small, good and bad together by octavos, or the eighth part of an ounce, the best at 4s. 9d. All dealing, however, in these stones is prohibited to the subject under the severest penalties; there were jewellers here formerly, who purchased and worked them on their own account, but about fourteen months before our arrival, orders came from the court of Portugal, that no more stones should be wrought here, except on the king's account: the jewellers were ordered to bring all their tools to the viceroy, and left without any means of subsistence. The persons employed here to work stones for the king are slaves.

The coin that is current here, is either that of Portugal, consisting chiefly of thirty-six shilling pieces; or pieces both of gold and silver, which are struck at this place, the pieces of silver which are very much debased, are called *petacks*, and are of different value, and easily distinguished by the number of *rees* that is marked on the outside. Here is also a copper coin, like that in Portugal, of five and ten *ree* pieces. A *ree* is a nominal coin of Portugal, ten of which are equal in value to about three farthings sterling.

The harbour of Rio de Janeiro is situated W. by

N. 18 leagues from Cape Frio, and may be known by a remarkable hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf, at the west point of the bay; but as all the coast is very high, and rises in many peaks, the entrance of this harbour may be more certainly distinguished by the islands that lie before it, one of which called Rodonda, is high and round like a hay-stack, and lies at the distance of two leagues and a half from the entrance of the bay, in the direction of S. by W. but the first islands which are met with, coming from the east, or Cape Frio, are two that have a rocky appearance, lying near to each other, and at the distance of about four miles from the shore; there are also at the distance of three leagues to the westward of these, two other islands which lie near to each other, a little without the bay on the east side, and very near the shore. This harbour is certainly a good one, the entrance indeed is not wide, but the sea-breeze which blows every day from ten or twelve o'clock till sunset, makes it easy for any ship to go in before the wind; and it grows wider as the town is approached, so that abreast of it there is room for the largest fleet, in five or six fathom water, with an oozy bottom. At the narrow part, the entrance is defended by two forts. The principal is Santa Cruz, which stands on the east point of the bay, and has been mentioned before; that on the west side is called fort Lozia, and is built upon a rock that lies close to the main; the distance between them is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, but the channel is not quite so broad, because there are sunken rocks which lie off each fort, and in this part alone there is danger: the narrowness of the channel causes the tides, both flood and ebb, to run with considerable strength, so that they cannot be stemmed without a fresh breeze. The rockyness of the bottom makes it also unsafe to anchor here; but all danger may be avoided by keeping in the middle of the channel. Within the entrance, the

course up the bay is first N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. and N.N.W. something more than a league, this will bring the vessel the length of the great road, and N.W. and W.N.W. one league more will carry her to the Isle dos Cobras, which lies before the city : she should then keep the north side of this island close on board, and anchor above it, before a monastery of Benedictines which stands upon a hill at the N.W. end of the city.

The river, and indeed the whole coast, abounds with a greater variety of fish than we had ever seen ; a day seldom passed in which one or more of a new species were not brought to Mr. Banks ; the bay also is as well adapted for catching these fish as can be conceived ; for it is full of small islands, between which there is shallow water, and proper beaches for drawing the seine. The sea without the bay abounds with dolphins, and large mackrel of different kinds, which readily bite at a hook, and the inhabitants always tow one after their boats for that purpose.

Though the climate is hot, the situation of this place is certainly wholesome ; while we stayed here the thermometer never rose higher than 83, though we had frequent rains, and once a very hard gale of wind.

Ships water here at the fountain in the great square, though as I have observed, the water is not good ; they land their casks upon a smooth sandy beach, which is not more than a hundred yards distant from the fountain, and upon application to the viceroy, a centinel will be appointed to look after them, and clear the way to the fountain where they are to be filled.

Upon the whole Rio de Janeiro is a very good place for ships to put in at that want refreshments ; the harbour is safe and commodious, and provisions, except wheaten bread and flower may be easily procured ; as a succedaneum for bread, there are yams

and cassada in plenty; beef, both fresh and jerked, may be bought at about two-pence farthing a pound, though as I have before remarked it is very lean. The people here jerk their beef by taking out the bones, cutting it into large but thin slices, then curing it with salt, and drying it in the shade; it eats very well, and if kept dry, will remain good a long time at sea. Mutton is scarcely to be procured, and hogs and poultry are dear; of garden-stuff and fruit there is abundance, of which however none can be preserved at sea but the pumpkin; rum, sugar, and molasses; all excellent in their kind, may be had at a reasonable price; tobacco also is cheap, but it is not good. Here is a yard for building shipping, and a small hulk to heave down by, for, as the tide never rises above six or seven feet, there is no other way of coming at a ship's bottom.

When the boat which had been sent on shore returned, we hoisted her on board, and stood out to sea.

---

### CHAP. III.

*The passage from Rio de Janeiro to the Entrance of the Streight of Le Maire, with a Description of some of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego.*

ON the 9th of December, we observed the sea to be covered with broad streaks of a yellowish colour, several of them a mile long, and three or four hundred yards wide: some of the water thus coloured was taken up, and found to be full of innumerable atoms pointed at the end, of a yellowish colour, and none more than a quarter of a line, or the fortieth part of an inch long: in the microscope they appeared to be *fasciculi* of small fibres interwoven with each other, not unlike the

nidus of some of the *phyganeas*, called caddices ; but whether they were animal or vegetable substances, whence they came, or for what they were designed, neither Mr. Banks nor Dr. Solander could guess. The same appearance had been observed before, when we first discovered the continent of South America.

On the 11th we hooked a shark, and while we were playing it under the cabin window, it threw out, and drew in again several times what appeared to be its stomach ; it proved to be a female, and upon being opened six young ones were taken out of it ; five of them were alive and swam briskly in a tub of water, but the sixth appeared to have been dead some time.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 30th, except that we prepared for the bad weather, which we were shortly to expect, by bending a new suit of sails ; but on this day we ran a course of one hundred and sixty miles by the log, through innumerable land insects of various kinds, some upon the wing, and more upon the water, many of which were alive ; they appeared to be exactly the same with the *carabi*, the *grylli*, the *phalanæ*, *arana*, and other flies that are seen in England, though at this time we could not be less than thirty leagues from land ; and some of these insects, particularly the *grylli* and *arana*, never voluntarily leave it at a greater distance than twenty yards. We judged ourselves to be now nearly opposite to *Bayesans fond*, where Mr. Dalrymple supposes there is a passage quite through the continent of America ; and we thought from the insects that there might be at least a very large river, and that it had overflowed its banks.

On the 3d of January, 1769, being in latitude  $47^{\circ} 17'$  S. and longitude  $61^{\circ} 29' 45''$  W. we were all looking out for Pepys' island, and for some time an appearance was seen in the east which so much resembled land, that we bore away for it ; and it was more than two hours and an half before we were convinced that it was nothing but what sailors call a fogbank.



The people now beginning to complain of cold, each of them received what is called a Magellanic jacket, and a pair of trowsers. The jacket is made of a thick woollen-stuff, called *fearnought*, which is provided by the government. We saw from time to time, a great number of penguins, albatrosses, and sheer waters, seals, whales, and porpoises: and on the 11th, having passed Falkland's islands, we discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of about four leagues, extending from the W. to S. E. by S. We had here five and thirty fathom, the ground soft, small slate stones. As we ranged along the shore to the S. E. at the distance of two or three leagues, we perceived smoke in several places, which was made by the natives, probably as a signal, for they did not continue it after we had passed by. This day we discovered that the ship had got near a degree of longitude to the westward of the log, which, in this latitude, is 35 minutes of a degree on the equator: probably there is a small current setting to the westward, which may be caused by the westerly current coming round Cape Horn, and through the streight of Le Maire, and the indraught of the streight of Magellan\*.

Having continued to range the coast, on the 14th we entered the streight of Le Maire; but the tide turning against us, drove us out with great violence, and raised such a sea off Cape St. Diego, that the waves had exactly the same appearance as they would have had if they had broke over a ledge of rocks; and when the ship was in this torrent, she frequently pitched, so that

---

\* The celebrated navigator who discovered this Streight was a native of Portugal, and his name in the language of his country was *Fernando de Magalhaens*; the Spaniards call him *Hernando Magalhanes*, and the French *Magellan*, which is the orthography that has been generally adopted: a gentleman, the fifth in descent from this great adventurer, is now living in or near London, and communicated the true name of his ancestor to Mr. Banks, with a request that it might be inserted in this work.

the bowsprit was under water. About noon, we got under the land between Cape St. Diego and Cape St. Vincent, where I intended to have anchored ; but finding the ground every where hard and rocky, and shallowing from thirty to twelve fathoms, I sent the master to examine a little cove which lay at a small distance to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent. When he returned, he reported that there was anchorage in four fathom, and a good bottom, close to the eastward of the first bluff point, on the east of Cape St. Vincent, at the very entrance of the cove, to which I gave the name of VINCENT'S Bay: before this anchoring ground, however, lay several rocky ledges, that were covered with sea-weed ; but I was told that there was not less than eight and nine fathom over all of them. It will probably be thought strange, that where weeds, which grow at the bottom, appear above the surface, there should be this depth of water ; but the weeds which grow upon rocky ground in these countries, and which always distinguish it from sand and ooze, are of an enormous size. The leaves are four feet long, and some of the stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above one hundred and twenty : Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined some of them, over which we sounded and had fourteen fathom, which is eighty-four feet ; and, as they made a very acute angle with the bottom, they were thought to be at least one half longer : the foot stalks were swelled into an air vessel, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander called this plant *fucus giganteus*. Upon the report of the master, I stood in with the ship ; but not trusting implicitly to his intelligence, I continued to sound, and found but four fathom upon the first ledge that I went over ; concluding, therefore, that I could not anchor here without risk, I determined to seek some port in the streight, where I might get on board such wood and water as we wanted.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, however, being very desirous to go on shore, I sent a boat with them and



their people, while I kept plying as near as possible with the ship.

Having been on shore four hours, they returned about nine in the evening, with above an hundred different plants and flowers, all of them wholly unknown to the botanists of Europe. They found the country about the bay to be in general flat, the bottom of it in particular was a plain, covered with grass, which might easily have been made into a large quantity of hay; they found also abundance of good wood and water, and fowl in great plenty. Among other things, of which nature has been liberal in this place, is Winter's bark, *winteranea aromatica*; which may easily be known by its broad leaf, shaped like the laurel, of a light green colour without, and inclining to blue within: the bark is easily stripped with a bone or a stick, and its virtues are well known: it may be used for culinary purposes as a spice, and is not less pleasant than wholesome: here is also plenty of wild celery and scurvy grass. The trees are chiefly of one kind, a species of the birch, called *betula antarctica*; the stem is from thirty to forty feet long, and from two to three feet in diameter, so that in a case of necessity they might possibly supply a ship with top-masts; they are a light white wood, bear a small leaf, and cleave very straight. Cranberries were also found here in great plenty, both white and red.

The persons who landed saw none of the inhabitants, but fell in with two of their deserted huts, one in a thick wood, and the other close by the beach.

Having taken the boat on board, I made sail into the streight, and at three in the morning of the 15th, I anchored in twelve fathom and an half, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, which we took for Port Maurice, at the distance of about half a mile from the shore. Two of the natives came down to the beach, expecting us to land; but this spot afforded so little shelter, that I at length determined not to examine it;

I therefore got under sail again about ten o'clock, and the savages retired into the woods.

At two o'clock, we anchored in the bay of Good Success; and after dinner I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to look for a watering-place, and speak to the Indians, several of whom had come in sight. We landed on the starboard side of the bay near some rocks, which made smooth water and good landing; thirty or forty of the Indians soon made their appearance at the end of a sandy beach on the other side of the bay, but seeing our number, which was ten or twelve, they retreated. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander then advanced about one hundred yards before us, upon which two of the Indians returned, and having advanced some paces towards them, sat down; as soon as they came up, the Indians rose, and each of them having a small stick in his hand threw it away, in a direction both from themselves and the strangers, which was considered as the renunciation of weapons in tokens of peace: they then walked briskly towards their companions, who had halted at about fifty yards behind them, and beckoned the gentlemen to follow, which they did. They were received with many uncouth signs of friendship; and, in return, they distributed among them some beads and ribbons, which had been brought on shore for that purpose, and with which they were greatly delighted. A mutual confidence and good-will being thus produced, our parties joined; the conversation, such as it was, became general; and three of them accompanied us back to the ship. When they came on board, one of them, whom we took to be a priest, performed much the same ceremonies which M. Bougainville describes, and supposes to be an exorcism. When he was introduced into a new part of the ship, or when any thing that he had not seen before caught his attention, he shouted with all his force for some minutes, without directing his voice either to us or his companions.

They eat some bread and some beef, but not apparently with much pleasure, though such part of what was given them as they did not eat they took away with them; but they would not swallow a drop either of wine or spirits: they put the glass to their lips, but, having tasted the liquor, they returned it, with strong expressions of disgust. Curiosity seems to be one of the few passions which distinguish men from brutes; and of this our guests appeared to have very little. They went from one part of the ship to another, and looked at the vast variety of new objects that every moment presented themselves, without any expression either of wonder or pleasure, for the vociferation of our exorcist seemed to be neither.

After having been on board about two hours, they expressed a desire to go ashore. A boat was immediately ordered, and Mr. Banks thought fit to accompany them: he landed them in safety, and conducted them to their companions, among whom he remarked the same vacant indifference, as in those who had been on board; for as on one side there appeared no eagerness to relate, so on the other there seemed to be no curiosity to hear, how they had been received, or what they had seen. In about half an hour, Mr. Banks returned to the ship, and the Indians retired from the shore.

---

## CHAP. IV.

*An Account of what happened in ascending a Mountain to search for Plants.*

ON the 16th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with their attendants and servants, and two seamen to assist in carrying the baggage, accom-

panied by Mr. Monkhouse the Surgeon, and Mr. Green the astronomer, set out from the ship with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, and return at night. The hills, when viewed at a distance, seemed to be partly a wood, partly a plain, and above them a bare rock. Mr. Banks hoped to get through the wood, and made no doubt, but that, beyond it, he should, in a country which no botanist had ever yet visited, find alpine plants which would abundantly compensate his labour. They entered the wood at a small sandy beach, a little to the westward of the watering-place, and continued to ascend the hill through the pathless wilderness, till three o'clock, before they got a near view of the places which they intended to visit. Soon after they reached what they had taken for a plain; but, to their great disappointment, found it a swamp, covered with low bushes of birch, about three feet high, interwoven with each other, and so stubborn that they could not be bent out of the way; it was therefore necessary to lift the leg over them, which at every step was buried, ankle deep, in the soil. To aggravate the pain and difficulty of such travelling, the weather, which had hitherto been very fine, much like one of our bright days in May, became gloomy and cold; with sudden blasts of a most piercing wind, accompanied with snow. They pushed forward, however, in good spirits, notwithstanding their fatigue, hoping the worst of the way was past, and that the bare rocks which they had seen from the tops of the lower hills was not more than a mile before them; but when they had got about two thirds over this woody swamp, Mr. Buchan, one of Mr. Banks's draughtsmen, was unhappily seized with a fit. This made it necessary for the whole company to halt, and as it was impossible that he should go any farther, a fire was kindled, and those who were most fatigued were left behind to take care of him. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse went on, and in a short time reached the summit. As bota-

nists, their expectations were here abundantly gratified ; for they found a great variety of plants, which, with respect to the alpine plants in Europe, are exactly what those plants are with respect to such as grow in the plain.

The cold was now become more severe, and the snow-blasts more frequent ; the day also was so far spent, that it was found impossible to get back to the ship before the next morning : to pass the night upon such a mountain, in such a climate, was not only comfortless, but dreadful ; it was impossible however to be avoided, and they were to provide for it as well as they could.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, while they were improving an opportunity which they had, with so much danger and difficulty, procured, by gathering the plants which they found upon the mountain, sent Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse back to Mr. Buchan and the people that were with him, with directions to bring them to a hill, which they thought lay in a better rout for returning to the wood, and which was therefore appointed as a general rendezvous. It was proposed, that from this hill they should push through the swamp, which seemed by the new rout not to be more than half a mile over, into the shelter of the wood, and there build their wigwam, and make a fire : this, as their way was all down hill, it seemed easily to accomplish. Their whole company assembled at the rendezvous, and, though pinched with the cold, were in health and spirits, Mr. Buchan himself having recovered his strength in a much greater degree than could have been expected. It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, but still good day-light, and they set forward for the nearest valley, Mr. Banks himself undertaking to bring up the rear, and see that no straggler was left behind ; this may perhaps be thought a superfluous caution, but it will soon appear to be otherwise. Dr. Solander, who had more than once crossed the mountains which divide Sweden



from Norway, well knew that extreme cold, especially when joined with fatigue, produces a torpor and sleepiness that are almost irresistible : he therefore conjured the company to keep moving, whatever pain it might cost them, and whatever relief they might be promised by an inclination to rest : whoever sits down, says he, will sleep ; and whoever sleeps will wake no more. Thus, at once admonished and alarmed, they set forward ; but while they were still upon the naked rock, and before they had got amongst the bushes, the cold became suddenly so intense, as to produce the effects that had been most dreaded. Dr. Solander himself was the first who found the inclination, against which he had warned others, irresistible ; and insisted upon being suffered to lie down. Mr. Banks intreated and remonstrated in vain, down he lay upon the ground, though it was covered with snow ; and it was with great difficulty that his friend kept him from sleeping. Richmond also, one of the black servants, began to linger, having suffered from the cold in the same manner as the doctor. Mr. Banks, therefore, sent five of the company, among whom was Mr. Buchan, forward to get a fire ready at the first convenient place they could find ; and himself, with four others, remained with the doctor and Richmond, whom partly by persuasion and intreaty, and partly by force, they brought on ; but when they had got through the greatest part of the birch and swamp, they both declared they could go no farther. Mr. Banks had recourse again to entreaty and expostulation, but they produced no effect : when Richmond was told if he did not go on he would in a short time be frozen to death ; he answered, that he desired nothing but to lie down and die ; the doctor did not so explicitly renounce his life ; he said he was willing to go on, but that he must first take some sleep, though he had before told the company that to sleep was to perish. Mr. Banks and the rest found it impossible to carry them, and there being no remedy they were both suffered



to sit down, being partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes they fell into a profound sleep ; soon after some of the people who had been sent forward returned, with the welcome news that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then endeavoured to wake Dr. Solander and happily succeeded ; but though he had not slept five minutes, he had almost lost the use of his limbs, and the muscles were so shrunk that his shoes fell from his feet ; he consented to go forward with such assistance as could be given him, but no attempts to relieve poor Richmond were successful. It being found impossible to make him stir, after some time had been lost in the attempt, Mr. Banks left his other black servant and a seaman, who seemed to have suffered least by the cold, to look after him ; promising, that as soon as two others should be sufficiently warmed, they should be relieved. Mr. Banks with much difficulty, at length got the doctor to the fire ; and soon after sent two of the people who had been refreshed, in hopes that, with the assistance of those who had been left behind, they would be able to bring Richmond, even though it should still be found impossible to wake him. In about half an hour, however, they had the mortifications to see these two men return alone ; they said, that they had been all round the place to which they had been directed, but could neither find Richmond nor those who had been left with him ; and that though they had shouted many times, no voice had replied. This was matter of equal surprize and concern, particularly to Mr. Banks, who while he was wondering how it could happen, missed a bottle of rum, the company's whole stock, which they now concluded to be in the knapsack of one of the absentees. It was conjectured, that with this Richmond had been roused by the two persons who had been left with him, and that, having perhaps drank too freely of it themselves, they had all rambled from the place where they had been left, in search of the fire, instead of

waiting for those who should have been their assistants and guides. Another fall of snow now came on, and continued incessantly for two hours, so that all hopes of seeing them again, at least alive, were given up; but about twelve o'clock, to the great joy of those at the fire, a shouting was heard at some distance. Mr. Banks, with four more, immediately went out, and found the seaman with just strength enough to stagger along, and call out for assistance: Mr. Banks sent him immediately to the fire, and by his direction, proceeded in search of the other two, whom he soon after found. Richmond was upon his legs, but not able to put one before the other; his companion was lying upon the ground, as insensible as a stone. All hands were now called from the fire, and an attempt was made to carry them to it; but this, notwithstanding the united efforts of the whole company, was found to be impossible. The night was extremely dark, the snow was now very deep, and, under these additional disadvantages, they found it very difficult to make way though the bushes and the bog for themselves, all of them getting many falls in the attempt. The only alternative was to make a fire upon the spot; but the snow which had fallen, and was still falling, besides what was every moment shaken in flakes from the trees, rendered it equally impracticable to kindle one there, and to bring any part of that which had been kindled in the wood thither: they were, therefore, reduced to the sad necessity of leaving the unhappy wretches to their fate; having first made them a bed of boughs from the trees, and spread a covering of the same kind over them to a considerable height.

Having now been exposed to the cold and the snow near an hour and an half, some of the rest began to lose their sensibility; and one Briscoe, another of Mr. Banks's servants was so ill, that it was thought he must die before he could be got to the fire.

At the fire, however, at length they arrived; and passed the night in a situation, which however dread-

ful in itself, was rendered more afflicting by the remembrance of what was past, and the uncertainty of what was to come. Of twelve, the number that set out together in health and spirits, two were supposed to be already dead ; a third was so ill, that it was very doubtful whether he would be able to go forward in the morning ; and a fourth, Mr. Buchan, was in danger of a return of his fits, by fresh fatigue after so uncomfortable a night : they were distant from the ship a long day's journey, through pathless woods, in which it was too probable they might be bewildered till they were overtaken by the next night ; and, not having prepared for a journey of more than eight or ten hours, they were wholly destitute of provisions, except a vulture, which they happened to shoot while they were out, and which, if equally divided, would not afford each of them half a meal ; and they knew not how much more they might suffer from the cold, as the snow still continued to fall. A dreadful testimony of the severity of the climate, as it was now the midst of summer in this part of the world, the twenty first of December being here the longest day ; and every thing might justly be dreaded from a phænomenon which, in the corresponding season, is unknown even in Norway and Lapland.

When the morning drawnd, they saw nothing round them, as far as the eye could reach, but snow which seemed to lie as thick upon the trees as upon the ground ; and the blasts returned so frequently, and with such violence, that they found it impossible for them to set out ; how long this might last they knew not, and they had but too much reason to apprehend that it would confine them in that desolate forest till they perished with hunger and cold.

After having suffered the misery and terror of this situation till six o'clock in the morning, they conceived some hope of deliverance by discovering the place of the sun through the clouds, which were become thinner, and began to break away. Their first care

was to see whether the poor wretches whom they had been obliged to leave among the bushes were yet alive; three of the company were dispatched for that purpose, and very soon afterwards returned with the melancholy news that they were dead.

Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of the sky, the snow still continued to fall so thick that they could not venture out upon their journey to the ship; but about eight o'clock a small regular breeze sprung up, which, with the prevailing influence of the sun, at length cleared the air; and they soon after, with great joy, saw the snow fall in large flakes from the trees, a certain sign of an approaching thaw: they now examined more critically the state of their invalids; Briscoe was still very ill, but said, that he thought himself able to walk; and Mr. Buchan was much better than either he or his friends had any reason to expect. They were now, however, pressed by the calls of hunger, to which, after long fasting, every consideration of future good or evil immediately gives way. Before they set forward, therefore, it was unanimously agreed, that they should eat their vulture; the bird was accordingly skinned, and, it being thought best to divide it before it was fit to be eaten, it was cut into ten portions, and every man cooked his own as he thought fit. After this repast, which furnished each of them with about three mouthfuls, they prepared to set out; but it was ten o'clock before the snow was sufficiently gone off to render a march practicable. After a walk of about three hours, they were very agreeably surprised to find themselves upon the beach, and much nearer to the ship than they had any reason to expect. Upon reviewing their track from the vessel, they perceived that, instead of ascending the hill in a line so as to penetrate into the country, they had made almost a circle round it. When they came on board, they congratulated each other upon their safety, with a joy that no man can feel who has not been exposed to equal danger; and

as I had suffered great anxiety at their not returning in the evening of the day on which they sent out, I was not wholly without my share.

---

## CHAP. V.

*The Passage through the Streights of Le Maire, and a further Description of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, and its Productions.*

ON the 18th and 19th, we were delayed in getting on board our wood and water by a swell : but on the 20th, the weather being more moderate, we again sent the boat on shore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in it. They landed in the bottom of the bay, and while my people were employed in cutting brooms, they pursued their great object, the improvement of natural knowledge, with success, collecting many shells and plants which hitherto have been altogether unknown : they came aboard to dinner, and afterwards went again on shore to visit an Indian town, which some of the people had reported to lie about two miles up the country. They found the distance not more than by the account, and they approached it by what appeared to be the common road, yet they were above an hour in getting thither, for they were frequently up to their knees in mud ; when they got within a small distance, two of the people came out to meet them, with such state as they could assume ; when they joined them, they began to holla as they had done on board the ship, without addressing themselves either to the strangers or their companions ; and having continued this strange vociferation some time, they conducted them to the town. It was situated on a dry knoll, or small hill, covered with wood, one of which seemed to have been cleared away, and consisted of about twelve or



fourteen hovels, of the most rude and inartificial structure that can be imagined. They were nothing more than a few poles set up so as to incline towards each other, and meet at the top, forming a kind of a cone, like some of our bee-hives: on the weather side they were covered with a few boughs, and a little grass; and on the lee side about one eighth of the circle was left open, both for a door and a fire-place; and of this kind were the huts that had been seen in St. Vincent's bay, in one of which the embers of a fire were still remaining. Furniture they had none; a little grass, which lay round the inside of the hovel, served both for chairs and beds; and of all the utensils which necessity and ingenuity have concurred to produce among other savage nations, they saw only a basket to carry in the hand, a satchel, to hang at the back, and the bladder of some beast to hold water, which the natives drink through a hole that is made near the top for that purpose.

The inhabitants of this town were a small tribe, not more than fifty in number, of both sexes and of every age. Their colour resembles that of the rust of iron mixed with oil, and they have long black hair: the men are large, but clumsily built; their stature is from five feet eight to five feet ten; the women are much less, few of them being more than five feet high. Their whole apparel consists of the skin of a guanicoe, or seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, exactly in the in state which it came from the animal's back; a piece of the same skin, which is drawn over their feet, and gathered about the ancles like a purse, and a small flap, which is worn by the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. The men wear their cloak open, the women tie it about their waist with a thong. But although they are content to be naked, they are very ambitious to be fine. Their faces were painted in various forms; the region of the eye was in general white, and the rest of the face adorned with horizontal streaks of red and black; yet scarcely



any two exactly alike. This decoration seems to be more profuse and elaborate upon particular occasions, for the two gentlemen who introduced Mr. Banks and the doctor into the town, were almost covered with streaks of black in all directions, so as to make a very striking appearance. Both men and women wore bracelets of such beads as they could make themselves of small shells and bones ; the women both upon their wrists and ancles, the men upon their wrists only ; but to compensate for the want of bracelets on their legs, they wore a kind of fillet of brown worsted round their heads. They seemed to set a particular value upon any thing that was red, and preferred beads even to a knife or a hatchet.

Their language is in general guttural, and they express some of their words by a sound exactly like that which we make to clear the throat when any thing happens to obstruct it ; yet they have words which would be deemed soft in the better languages of Europe. Mr. Banks learnt what he supposes to be their name for beads and water. When they wanted beads, instead of ribbons or other trifles, they said *hallēcā* ; and when they were taken on shore from the ship, and by signs asked where water might be found, they made the sign of drinking, and pointing as well to the casks as the watering-place, cried *Oodā*.

We saw no appearance of their having any food but shell-fish ; for though seals were frequently seen near the shore, they seemed to have no implements for taking them, The shell-fish is collected by the women, whose business it seems to be to attend at low water, with a basket in one hand, a stick, pointed and barbed, in the other, and a satchel at their backs : they loosen the limpets, and other fish that adhere to the rocks, with the stick, and put them into the basket ; which, when full, they empty into the satchel.

The only things that we found among them in which there was the least appearance of neatness or ingenuity, were their weapons, which consisted of a bow and ar-

rows. The bow was not inelegantly made, and the arrows were the neatest that we had ever seen : they were of wood, polished to the highest degree ; and the point, which was of glass or flint, and barbed, was formed and fitted with wonderful dexterity. We saw also some pieces of glass and flint among them unwrought, besides rings, buttons, cloth, and canvass, with other European commodities ; they must therefore sometimes travel to the northward, for it is many years since any ship has been so far south as this part of Terra del Fuego. We observed also, that they shewed no surprise at our fire-arms, with the use of which they appeared to be well acquainted ; for they made signs to Mr. Banks to shoot a seal which followed the boat as they were going on shore from the ship.

M. de Bougainville, who, in January 1768, just one year before us, had been on shore upon this coast in latitude  $53^{\circ} 40' 41''$ , had among other things, given glass to the people whom he found here ; for he says, that a boy about twelve years old took it into his head to eat some of it ; by this unhappy accident he died in great misery ; but the endeavours of the good father, the French *Aumonier*, were more successful than those of the surgeon ; for though the surgeon could not save his life, the charitable priest found means to steal a Christian baptism upon him so secretly, that none of his Pagan relations knew any thing of the matter. These people might probably have some of the very glass which Bougainville left behind him, either from other natives, or perhaps from himself ; for they appeared rather to be a travelling hord, than to have any fixed habitation. Their houses are built to stand but for a short time ; they have no utensil or furniture but the basket and satchel, which have been mentioned before, and which have handles adapted to the carrying them about, in the hand and upon the back ; the only cloathing they had here was scarcely sufficient to prevent their perishing with cold in the summer of this country, much less in the extreme severity of winter ;

the shell-fish which seems to be their only food must soon be exhausted at any one place ; and we had seen houses upon what appeared to be a deserted station in St. Vincent's bay.

It is also probable that the place where we found them was only a temporary residence, from their having here nothing like a boat or canoe, of which it can scarcely be supposed that they were wholly destitute, especially as they were not sea-sick, or particularly affected, either in our boat or on board the ship. We conjectured that there might be a streight or inlet, running from the sea through great part of this island, from the streight of Magellan, whence these people might come, leaving their canoes where such inlet terminated.

They did not appear to have among them any government or subordination : none was more respected than another ; yet they seemed to live together in the utmost harmony and good fellowship. Neither did we discover any appearance of religion among them, except the noises which have been mentioned, and which we supposed to be a superstitious ceremony, merely because we could refer them to nothing else : they were used only by one of those who came on board the ship, and the two who conducted Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to the town, whom we therefore conjectured to be priests. Upon the whole, these people appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn, as well as the most stupid of all human beings ; the outcasts of nature, who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes, where two of our people perished with cold in the midst of summer ; with no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which would not only admit the wind, but the snow and the rain ; almost naked ; and destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food : yet they were content. They seemed to have no wish for any thing more than they possessed, nor did any thing that we offered them ap-

pear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental superfluity of life. What bodily pain they might suffer from the severities of their winter we could not know ; but it is certain, that they suffered nothing from the want of the innumerable articles which we consider, not as the luxuries and conveniencies only, but the necessities of life : as their desires are few, they probably enjoy them all ; and how much they may be gainers by an exemption from the care, labour and solicitude, which arise from a perpetual and unsuccessful effort to gratify that infinite variety of desires which the refinements of artificial life have produced among us, is not very easy to determine : possibly this may counterbalance all the real disadvantages of their situation in comparison with ours, and make the scales by which good and evil are distributed to man, hang even between us.

In this place we saw no quadruped except seals, sea-lions, and dogs ; of the dogs it is remarkable that they bark, which those that are originally bred in America do not. And this is a further proof, that the people we saw here had, either immediate or remotely, communicated with the inhabitants of Europe. There are, however, other quadrupeds in this part of the country ; for when Mr. Banks was at the top of the highest hill that he ascended in his expedition through the woods, he saw the footsteps of a large beast imprinted upon the surface of a bog, though he could not with any probability guess of what kind it might be.

Of land-birds there are but few ; Mr. Banks saw none larger than an English blackbird, except some hawks and a vulture ; but of water-fowl there is great plenty, particularly ducks. Of fish we saw scarce any, and with our hooks could catch none that was fit to eat ; but shell-fish, limpets, clams, and muscles were to be found in abundance.

Among the insects, which were not numerous, there was neither gnat nor musquito, nor any other species that was either hurtful or troublesome, which perhaps is more than can be said of any other uncleared coun-

try. During the snow-blasts, which happened every day while we were here, they hide themselves ; and the moment it is fair they appear again, as nimble and vigorous as the warmest weather could make them.

Of plants, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found a vast variety ; the far greater part wholly different from any that have been hitherto described. Besides the birch, and winter's bark, which have been mentioned already, there is the beech, *fagus antarcticus*, which, as well as the birch, may be used for timber. The plants cannot be enumerated here ; but as the scurvy grass, *cardamine antiscorbutica*, and the wild celery, *apium antarcticum*, probably contain antiscorbutic qualities, which may be of great benefit to the crews of such ships as shall hereafter touch at this place, the following short description is inserted :

The scurvy grass will be found in plenty in damp places, near springs of water, and in general in all places that lie near the beach, especially at the watering-place in the Bay of Good Success : when it is young, the state of its greatest perfection, it lies flat upon the ground, having many leaves of a bright green, standing in pairs opposite to each other, with a single one at the end, which generally makes the fifth upon a foot-stalk : the plant, passing from this state, shoots up in stalks that are sometimes two feet high, at the top of which are small white blossoms, and these are succeeded by long pods : the whole plant greatly resembles that which in England is called lady's smock, or cuckow-flower. The wild celery is very like the celery in our gardens, the flowers are white, and stand in the same manner, in small tufts at the tops of the branches, but the leaves are of a deeper green. It grows in great abundance near the beach, and generally upon the soil that lies next above the spring tides. It may indeed easily be known by the taste, which is between that of celery and parsley. We used the celery in large quantities, particularly in our soup, which, thus medicated, produced the same good effects which seamen generally



derive from a vegetable diet after having been long confined to salt provisions.

On Sunday the 22d of January, about two o'clock in the morning, having got our wood and water on board, we sailed out of the Bay, and continued our course through the streight.

---

## CHAP. VI.

*A general Description of the S. E. Part of Terra del Fuego, and the Streight of Le Maire; with some Remarks on Lord Anson's Account of them, and Directions for the Passage Westward, round this Part of America, into the South Seas.*

ALMOST all writers who have mentioned the island of Terra del Fuego, describe it as destitute of wood, and covered with snow. In the winter it may possibly be covered with snow, and those who saw it at that season might perhaps be easily deceived by its appearance, into an opinion that it was destitute of wood. Lord Anson was there in the beginning of March, which answers to our September; and we were there the beginning of January, which answers to our July, which may account for the difference of his description of it from ours. We fell in with it about twenty-one leagues to the westward of the streight of Le Maire, and from the time that we first saw it, trees were plainly to be distinguished with our glasses; and as we came nearer, though here and there we discovered patches of snow, the sides of the hill and sea-coast appeared to be covered with a beautiful verdure. The hills are lofty, but not mountainous, though the summits of them are quite naked. The soil in the valleys is rich, and of a considerable depth; and at the foot of almost every hill there is a brook, the water of which has a reddish hue, like that which runs through our turf bogs in England, but it is by no means ill tasted, and upon the whole proved to



be the best that we took in during our voyage. We ranged the coast to the streight, and had soundings all the way from 40 to 20 fathom, upon a gravelly and sandy bottom. The most remarkable land on Terra del Fuego is a hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf, which stands on the westside not far from the sea ; and the three hills, called the Three Brothers, about nine miles to the westward of Cape St. Diego, the low point that forms the north entrance of the streight of Le Maire.

It is said in the account of Lord Anson's voyage, that it is difficult to determine exactly where the streight lies, though the appearance of Terra del Fuego be well known, without knowing also the appearance of Staten Land ; and that some navigators have been deceived by three hills on Staten Land, which have been mistaken for the Three Brothers on Terra del Fuego, and so over-shot the streight. But no ship can possibly miss the streight that coasts Terra del Fuego, within sight of land, for it will then, of itself, be sufficiently conspicuous ; and Staten Land, which forms the east side, will be still more manifestly distinguished, for there is no land on Terra del Fuego like it. The streight of Le Maire can be missed only by standing too far to the eastward, without keeping the land of Terra del Fuego in sight : if this is done, it may be missed, however accurately the appearance of the coast of Staten Land may have been exhibited, and if this is not done, it cannot be missed, though the appearance of that coast be not known. The entrance of the streight should not be attempted but with a fair wind and moderate weather, and upon the very beginning of the tide of flood, which happens here, at the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock ; it is also best to keep as near to the Terra del Fuego shore as the winds will admit. By attending to these particulars, a ship may be got quite through the streight in one tide ; or at least, to the southward of Success Bay, into which it will be more prudent to put, if the wind should be southerly, than to attempt the weathering of Staten Land with a

Ice wind and a current, which may endanger her being driven on that island.

The streight itself, which is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten Land, is about five leagues long, and as many broad. The bay of Good Success lies about the middle of it, on the Terra del Fuego side, and is discovered immediately upon entering the streight from the northward; and the south head of it may be distinguished by a mark on the land, that has the appearance of a broad road, leading up from the sea into the country: at the entrance it is half a league wide, and runs in westward about two miles and an half. There is good anchorage in every part of it, in from ten to seven fathom, clear ground: and it affords plenty of exceeding good wood and water. The tides flow in the bay, at the full and change of the moon, about four or five o'clock, and rise about five or six feet perpendicular. But the flood runs two or three hours longer in the streight than in the bay; and the ebb, or northerly current, runs with near double the strength of the flood.

In the appearance of Staten Land, we did not discover the wildness and horror that is ascribed to it in the account of Lord Anson's voyage. On the north side are the appearances of bays or harbours; and the land when we saw it, was neither destitute of wood nor verdure, nor covered with snow. The island seems to be about twelve leagues in length, and five broad.

On the west side of the Cape of Good Success, which forms the S. W. entrance of the streight, lies Valentine's Bay, of which we only saw the entrance; from this bay the land trends away to W. S. W. for twenty or thirty leagues; it appears to be high and mountainous, and forms severai bays and inlets.

At the distance of fourteen leagues from the Bay of Good Success, in the direction of S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. and between two and three leagues from the shore, lies New Island. It is about two leagues in length from N. E. to S. W. and terminates to the N. E. in a remarkable

hillock. At the distance of seven leagues from New Island, in the direction of S. W. lies the isle *Evouts* ; and a little to the west of the south of this island lie Barnevelt's two small flat islands close to each other ; they are partly surrounded with rocks, which rise to different heights above the water, and lie twenty-four leagues from the streight of Le Maire. At the distance of three leagues from Barnevelt's islands, in the direction of S. W. by S. lies the S. E. point of Hermit's islands : these islands lie S.E. and N.W. and are pretty high : from most points of view they will be taken for one island, or a part of the main.

From the S.E. point of Hermit's islands to Cape Horn, the course is S. W. by S. distance three leagues.

The appearance of this Cape and Hermit's islands is represented in the chart of this coast, from our first making land at the Cape, which includes the Streight of Le Maire, and part of Staten Land. In this chart I have laid down no land, nor traced out any shore but what I saw myself, and thus far it may be depended upon ; the bays and inlets, of which we saw only the openings, are not traced ; it can, however, scarcely be doubted, but that most, if not all of them, afford anchorage, wood, and water. The Dutch squadron, commanded by Hermit, certainly put into some of them in the year 1624 ; and it was Chapenham, the vice-admiral of this squadron, who first discovered that the land of Cape Horn consisted of a number of islands. The account, however, which those who sailed in Hermit's fleet have given of these parts is extremely defective ; and those of Schouton and Le Maire are still worse ; it is therefore no wonder that the charts hitherto published should be erroneous, not only in laying down the land, but in the latitude and longitude of the places they contain. I will, however, venture to assert, that the longitude of few parts of the world is better ascertained than that of the Streight of Le Maire, and Cape Horn, in the chart now offered to the public, as it was laid down by several observations of the sun and

moon, that were made both by myself and Mr. Green. The variation of the compass on this coast I found to be from  $23^{\circ}$  to  $25^{\circ}$  E. except near Barnevelte's islands and Cape Horn, where we found it less, and unsettled; probably it is disturbed here by the land, as Hermit's squadron in this very place found all their compasses differ from each other. The declination of the dipping-needle, when set up on shore in Success Bay, was  $68^{\circ} 15'$  below the horizon.

Between Streight Le Maire and Cape Horn, we found a current setting generally very strong, to the N. E. when we were in within the shore; but lost it when we were at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues.

On the 26th of January, we took our departure from Cape Horn, which lies in latitude  $55^{\circ} 53'$  S. longitude  $68^{\circ} 13'$  W. The farthest southern latitude that we made was  $60^{\circ} 10'$ , our longitude was then  $74^{\circ} 30'$  W.; and we found the variation of the compass, by the mean of eighteen azimuths, to be  $27^{\circ} 9'$  E. As the weather was frequently calm, Mr. Banks went out in a small boat to shoot birds, among which were some albatrosses and sheerwaters. The albatrosses were observed to be larger than those which had been taken northward of the streight; one of them measured ten feet two inches from the tip of one wing to that of the other, when they were extended: the sheerwater, on the contrary, is less and darker coloured on the back. The albatrosses we skinned, and having soaked them in salt water till the morning, we parboiled them, then throwing away the liquor, stewed them in a very little fresh water till they were tender, and had them served up with savory sauce; thus dressed, the dish was universally commended, and we eat of it very heartily even when there was fresh pork upon the table.

From a variety of observations which were made with great care, it appeared probable in the highest degree, that, from the time of our leaving the land to the 13th of February, when we were in la-

titude  $49^{\circ} 32'$ , and longitude  $90^{\circ} 37'$  we had no current to the west.

At this time we advanced about  $12^{\circ}$  to the westward and  $3$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the northward of the streights of Magellan: having been just three and thirty days coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, or Cape Horn, from the east entrance of the streight to this situation. And though the doubling of Cape Horn is so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the streight of Magellan, we were not once brought under our close reef'd topsails after we left the streight of Le Maire. The Dolphin in her last voyage, which she performed at the same season of the year with ours, was three months in getting through the streight of Magellan, exclusive of the time that she lay in Port Famine; and I am persuaded, from the winds we had, that if we had come by that passage, we should not at this time have been in these seas; that our people would have been fatigued, and our anchors, cables, sails and rigging much damaged; neither of which inconveniences we had now suffered. But supposing it more eligible to go round the Cape, than through the streights of Magellan, it may still be questioned, whether it is better to go through the streight of Le Maire, or stand to the eastward, and go round Staten Land. The advice given in the account of Lord Anson's voyage is, "That all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through the streight of Le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten Land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward as far as the latitude of  $61$  or  $62$  degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the westward." But, in my opinion, different circumstances may at one time render it eligible to pass through the streight, and to keep to the eastward of Staten Land at another. If the land is fallen in with to the westward of the streight, and the wind is favourable for going through, I think it would be very injudicious to lose time by going



round Staten Land, as I am confident that, by attending to the directions which I have given, the streight may be passed with the utmost safety and convenience: but, if, on the contrary, the land is fallen in with to the eastward of the streight, and the wind should prove tempestuous or unfavourable, I think it would be best to go round Staten Land. But I cannot in any case concur in recommending the running into the latitude of 61 or 62, before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward. We found neither the current nor the storms which the running so far to the southward is supposed necessary to avoid; and indeed, as the winds almost constantly blow from that quarter, it is scarcely possible to pursue the advice. The navigator has no choice but to stand to the southward, close upon a wind, and by keeping upon that tack, he will not only make southing but westing; and, if the wind varies towards the north of the west, his westing will be considerable. It will, indeed, be highly proper to make sure of a westing sufficient to double all the lands, before an attempt is made to stand to the northward, and to this every man's own prudence will of necessity direct him.

We now began to have strong gales and heavy seas, with irregular intervals of calm and fine weather.

---

## CHAP. VII.

*The Sequel of the Passage from Cape Horn to the newly discovered Islands in the South Seas, with a Description of their Figure and Appearance; some Account of the Inhabitants, and several Incidents that happened during the Course, and at the Ship's Arrival among them.*

ON the 1st of March, we were in latitude  $38^{\circ} 44'$  S. and longitude  $110^{\circ} 33'$  W. both by observation



and by the log. This agreement, after a run of 660 leagues, was thought to be very extraordinary ; and is a demonstration, that after we left the land of Cape Horn we had no current that affected the ship. It renders it also highly probable, that we had been near no land of any considerable extent, for currents are always found when land is not remote, and sometimes, particularly on the east side of the continent in the North Sea, when land has been distant 100 leagues.

Many birds, as usual, were constantly about the ship, so that Mr. Banks killed no less than 62 in one day : and what is more remarkable, he caught two forest flies, both of them of the same species, but different from any that have hitherto been described ; these probably belonged to the birds, and came with them from the land, which we judged to be at a great distance. Mr. Banks also, about this time, found a large cuttle-fish, which had just been killed by the birds, floating in a mangled condition upon the water ; it was very different from the cuttle fishes that are found in the European seas ; for its arms, instead of suckers, were furnished with a double row of very sharp talons, which resembled those of a cat, and like them, were retractable into a sheath of skin, from which they might be thrust at pleasure. Of this cuttle-fish we made one of the best soups we had ever tasted.

The albatrosses now began to leave us, and after the 8th there was not one to be seen. We continued our course without any memorable event till the 24th, when some of the people who were upon the watch in the night, reported, that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship ; and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pond. It was a general opinion, that there was land to windward ; but I did not think myself at liberty to search for what I was not sure to find ; though I judged we were not far from the islands that were discovered by Quiros in 1606. Our latitude was  $22^{\circ} 11' S.$  and longitude  $127^{\circ} 55' W.$

On the 25th, about noon, one of the marines, a young fellow about twenty, was placed as centry at the cabin door ; while he was upon this duty, one of my servants was at the same place preparing to cut a piece of seal-skin into tobacco-pouches : he had promised one to several of the men, but had refused one to this young fellow, though he had asked him several times ; upon which he jocularly threatened to steal one, if it should be in his power. It happened that the servant being called hastily away, gave the skin in charge to the centinel, without regarding what had passed between them. The centinel immediately secured a piece of the skin, which the other missing at his return, grew angry : but after some altercation, contented himself with taking it away, declaring, that, for so trifling an affair, he would not complain of him to the officers. But it happened, that one of his fellow soldiers, over-hearing the dispute, came to the knowledge of what had happened, and told it to the rest ; who, taking it into their heads to stand up for the honour of their corps, reproached the offender with great bitterness, and reviled him in the most opprobrious terms ; they exaggerated his offence into a crime of the deepest die ; they said it was a theft by a centry when he was upon duty, and of a thing that had been committed to his trust ; they declared it a disgrace to associate with him ; and the serjeant, in particular, said that, if the person from whom the skin had been stolen would not complain, he would complain himself ; for that his honour would suffer if the offender was not punished. From the scoffs and reproaches of these men of honour, the poor young fellow retired to his hammock in an agony of confusion and shame. The serjeant soon after went to him, and ordered him to follow him to the deck : he obeyed without reply ; but it being in the dusk of the evening, he slipped from the Serjeant and went forward : he was seen by some of the people, who thought he was gone to the head ; but a search being made for him

afterwards, it was found that he had thrown himself overboard ; and I was then first made acquainted with the theft and its circumstances.

The loss of this man was the more regretted as he was remarkably quiet and industrious, and as the very action that put an end to his life was a proof of an ingenuous mind ; for to such only disgrace is insupportable.

On Tuesday the 4th of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, Mr. Banks's servant, Peter Briscoe, discovered land, bearing south, at the distance of about three or four léagues. I immediately hauled up for it, and found it to be an island of an oval form, with a lagoon in the middle, which occupied much the larger part of it ; the border of land which circumscribes the lagoon is in many places very low and narrow, particularly on the south side, where it consists principally of a beach or reef of rocks : it has the same appearance also in three places on the north side ; so that, the firm land being disjoined, the whole looks like many islands covered with wood. On the west end of the island is a large tree, or clump of trees, that in appearance resembles a tower ; and about the middle are two cocoa-nut trees, which rise above all the rest, and, as we came near to the island, appeared like a flag. We approached it on the north side, and though we came within a mile, we found no bottom with 130 fathom of line, nor did there appear to be any anchorage about it. The whole is covered with trees of different verdure, but we could distinguish none, even with our glasses, except cocoa-nuts and palm-nuts. We saw several of the natives upon the shore, and counted four and twenty. They appeared to be tall, and to have heads remarkably large ; perhaps they had something wound round them which we could not distinguish ; they were of a copper colour, and had long black hair. Eleven of them walked along the beach abreast of the ship, with poles or pikes in their hands which reached twice as high as themselves : while they

walked on the beach they seemed to be naked ; but soon after they retired, which they did as soon as the ship had passed the island, they covered themselves with something that made them appear of a light colour. Their habitations were under some clumps of palm-nut trees, which at a distance appeared like high ground ; and to us, who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise. To this spot, which lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 47'$  S. and longitude  $136^{\circ} 28'$  W. we gave the name of LAGOON ISLAND. The variation of the needle here is  $2^{\circ} 54'$  E.

About one o'clock we made sail to the westward, and about half an hour after three we saw land again to the N. W. We got up with it at sunset, and it proved to be a low woody island, of a circular form, and not much above a mile in compass. We discovered no inhabitants, nor could we distinguish any cocoa-nut trees, though we were within half a mile of the shore. The land, however, was covered with verdure of many hues. It lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 35'$  S. and longitude  $139^{\circ} 48'$  W. and is distant from Lagoon Island, in the direction of N.  $62^{\circ}$  W. about seven leagues. We called it THURMB CAP. I discovered, by the appearance of the shore, that at this place it was low-water ; and I had observed at Lagoon Island that it was either high-water, or that the sea neither ebbed nor flowed : I infer, therefore, that a S. by E. or S. moon makes high-water.

We went on with a fine trade-wind and pleasant weather, and on the 5th, about three in the afternoon, we discovered land to the westward. It proved to be a low island, of much greater extent than either of those that we had seen before, being about ten or twelve leagues in compass. Several of us remained at the mast-head the whole evening, admiring its extraordinary figure : it was shaped exactly like a bow, the arch and cord of which were land, and the space be-

tween them water ; the cord was a flat beach, without any signs of vegetation, having nothing upon it but heaps of sea-weed, which lay in different ridges, as higher or lower tides had left them. It appeared to be about three or four leagues long, and not more than two hundred yards wide ; but as a horizontal plain is always seen in perspective, and greatly fore-shortened, it is certainly much wider than it appeared : the horns, or extremities of the bow, were two large tufts of cocoa-nut trees ; and much the greater part of the arch was covered with trees of different height, figure, and hue ; in some parts, however, it was naked and low like the cord : some of us thought they discovered openings through the cord, into the pool or lake, that was included between that and the bow ; but whether there were or were not such openings is uncertain. We sailed abreast of the low beach, or bow-string, within less than a league of the shore, till sunset, and we then judged ourselves to be about half-way between the two horns : here we brought to, and sounded, but found no bottom with one hundred and thirty fathom ; and, as it is dark almost instantly after sunset in these latitudes, we suddenly lost sight of the land, and making sail again, before the line was well hauled in, we steered by the sound of the breakers, which were distinctly heard till we got clear of the coast.

We knew this island to be inhabited, by smoke which we saw in different parts of it, and we gave it the name of *Bow Island*. Mr. Gore, my second lieutenant, said, after we had sailed by the island, that he had seen several of the natives, under the first clump of trees, from the deck ; that he had distinguished their houses, and seen several canoes hauled up under the shade ; but in this he was more fortunate than any other person on board. The east end of this island, which from its figure we called the Bow, lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 23' S.$  and longitude  $141^{\circ} 12' W.$  we observed the variation of the compass to be  $5^{\circ} 38' E.$



On the next day, Thursday the 6th, about noon, we saw land again to the westward, and came up with it about three. It appeared to be two islands, or rather groups of islands, extending from N. W. by N. to S. E. by S. about nine leagues. Of these, the two largest were separated from each other by a channel of about half a mile broad, and were severally surrounded by smaller islands, to which they were joined by reefs that lay under water.

These islands were long narrow strips of land, ranging in all directions, some of them ten miles or upwards in length, but none more than a quarter of a mile broad, and upon all of them there were trees of various kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut. The south-eastermost of them lies in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 12'$  S. and longitude  $142^{\circ} 42'$  W. and at the distance of twenty-five leagues, in the direction of  $W. \frac{1}{2} N.$  from the west end of Bow island. We ranged along the S. W. side of this island, and hauled into a bay which lies to the N. W. of the southermost point of the Group, where there was a smooth sea, and the appearance of anchorage, without much surf on the shore. We sounded, but we found no bottom with one hundred fathom, at the distance of no more than three quarters of a mile from the beach, and I did not think it prudent to go nearer.

While this was doing, several of the inhabitants assembled upon the shore, and some came out in their canoes as far as the reefs, but would not pass them; when we saw this, we ranged, with an easy sail, along the shore; but just as we were passing the end of the island, six men, who had for some time kept abreast of the ship, suddenly launched two canoes with great quickness and dexterity, and three of them getting into each, they put off, as we imagined with a design to come on board us; the ship was therefore brought to, but they, like their fellows, stopped at the reef; we did not however immediately make sail, as we observed two messengers dispatched to them from the other



canoes, which were of a much larger size : we perceived that these messengers made great expedition, wading and swimming along the reef ; at length they met, and the men on board the canoes, making no dispositions to pass the reef, after having received the message, we judged that they had resolved to come no farther : after waiting, therefore, some little time longer, we stood off ; but when we were got about two or three miles from the shore, we perceived some of the natives following us in a canoe with a sail ; we did not, however, think it worth while to wait for her, and though she had passed the reef, she soon after gave over the chase.

According to the best judgment that we could form of the people when we were nearest the shore, they were about our size, and well-made. They were of a brown complexion, and appeared to be naked ; their hair, which was black, was confined by a fillet that went round the head, and stuck out behind like a bush. The greater part of them carried in their hands two weapons ; one of them was a slender pole, from ten to fourteen feet long, on one end of which was a small knob ; not unlike the point of a spear ; the other was about four feet long, and shaped like a paddle, and possibly might be so, for some of their canoes were very small : those which we saw them launch seemed not intended to carry more than the three men that got into them : we saw others that had on board six or seven men, and one of them hoisted a sail which did not seem to reach more than six feet above the gunwale of the boat, and which, upon the falling of a slight shower, was taken down and converted into an awning or tilt. The canoe which followed us to sea hoisted a sail not unlike an English lug-sail, and almost as lofty as an English boat of the same size would have carried.

The people, who kept abreast of the ship on the beach, made many signals ; but whether they were intended to frighten us away, or invite us on shore, it is not easy to determine : we returned them by waving

our hats and shouting, and they replied by shouting again. We did not put their disposition to the test, by attempting to land; because as the island was inconsiderable, and as we wanted nothing that it could afford, we thought it imprudent as well as cruel to risk a contest, in which the natives must have suffered by our superiority, merely to gratify an idle curiosity; especially as we expected soon to fall in with the island where we had been directed to make our astronomical observation, the inhabitants of which would probably admit us without opposition, as they were already acquainted with our strength, and might also procure us a ready and peaceable reception among the neighbouring people if we should desire it.

To these islands we gave the name of **THE GROUPS**.

On the 7th, about half an hour after six in the morning, being just at day-break, we discovered another island to the northward, which we judged to be about four miles in circumference. The land lay very low, and there was a piece of water in the middle of it; there seemed to be some wood upon it, and it looked green and pleasant; but we saw neither cocoa trees nor inhabitants: it abounded however with birds, and we therefore gave it the name of **BIRD-ISLAND**.

It lies in latitude  $17^{\circ} 48'$  S. and longitude  $143^{\circ} 35'$  W. at the distance of ten leagues, in the direction W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from the west end of the Groups. The variation here was  $6^{\circ} 32'$  E.

On the 8th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we saw land to the northward, and about sunset came abreast of it, at about the distance of two leagues. It appeared to be a double range of low woody islands joined together by reefs, so as to form one island, in the form of an ellipsis or oval, with a lake in the middle of it. The small islands and reefs that circumscribe the lake have the appearance of a chain, and we therefore gave it the name of **CHAIN ISLAND**. Its length seemed to be about five leagues, in the direction of N. W. and S. E. and its breadth about five miles. The

trees upon it appeared to be large, and we saw smoke rising in different parts of it from among them, a certain sign that it was inhabited. The middle of it lies in latitude  $17^{\circ} 23'$  S. and longitude  $145^{\circ} 54'$  W. and is distant from Bird Island forty-five leagues in the direction of W. by N. The variation here was, by several azimuths, found to be  $4^{\circ} 51'$  E.

On the 10th, having had a tempestuous night with thunder and rain, the weather was hazy till about nine o'clock in the morning, when it cleared up, and we saw the island to which Captain Wallis, who first discovered it, gave the name of Osnaburgh Island, called by the natives *Maitea*, bearing N. W. by W. distant about five leagues. It is a high round island, not above a league in circuit: and in some parts it is covered with trees, and in others a naked rock. In this direction it looked like a high-crowned hat; but when it bears north, the top of it has more the appearance of the roof of a house. We made its latitude to be  $17^{\circ} 48'$  S. its longitude  $148^{\circ} 10'$  W. and its distance from Chain Island 44 leagues, in the direction of W. by S.

---

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Arrival of the Endeavour at Otaheite, called by Captain Wallis, King George the III.'s Island. Rules established for Traffic with the Natives, and an Account of several Incidents which happened in a Visit to Tootahah and Toubourai Tamaida, two Chiefs.*

ABOUT one o'clock on Monday the 10th of April, some of the people who were looking out for the island to which we were bound, said they saw land ahead, in that part of the horizon where it was expected to appear; but it was so faint that, whether

there was land in sight or not, remained a matter of dispute till sunset. The next morning, however, at six o'clock, we were convinced that those who said they had discovered land were not mistaken; it appeared to be very high and mountainous, extending from W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. to W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. and we knew it to be the same that Captain Wallis had called King George the III.'s island. We were delayed in our approach to it by light airs and calms, so that in the morning of the 12th we were but little nearer than we had been the night before; but about seven a breeze sprung up, and before eleven several canoes were seen making towards the ship; there were but few of them, however, that would come near, and the people in those that did, could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the Indians call *E' Midho*: these as we afterwards learnt, were brought as tokens of peace and amity, and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which we did not immediately understand; at length we guessed that they wished these symbols should be placed in some conspicuous part of the ship, we therefore immediately stuck them among the rigging, at which they expressed the greatest satisfaction. We then purchased their cargoes, consisting of cocoa-nuts, and various kinds of fruit, which after our long voyage were very acceptable.

We stood on with an easy sail all night, with soundings from 22 fathoms to 12, and about seven o'clock in the morning, we came to an anchor in 13 fathom, in Port-royal bay, called by the natives *Matavai*. We were immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who gave us cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. They

had with them a pig, which they would not part with any thing but a hatchet, and therefore we refused to purchase it; because if we gave them a hatchet for a pig now, we knew they would never afterwards sell one for less, and we could not afford to buy as many as it was probable we should want at that price. The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak; its leaves are frequently a foot and an half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated not much unlike a truffle; it is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife: the eatable part lies between the skin and the core; it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread, it must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts: its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten-bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.

Among others who came off to the ship was an elderly man, whose name as we learnt afterwards was OWHAW, and who was immediately known to Mr. Gore, and several others who had been here with Captain Wallis; as I was informed that he had been very useful to them, I took him on board the ship with some others, and was particularly attentive to gratify him, as I hoped he might also be useful to us.

As our stay here was not likely to be very short, and as it was necessary that the merchandize which we had brought for traffic with the natives should not diminish in its value, which it would certainly have done, if every person had been left at liberty to give what he pleased for such things as he should purchase, at the same time that confusion and quarrels must



necessarily have arisen from there being no standard at market, I drew up the following rules, and ordered that they should be punctually observed.

*Rules to be observed by every person in or belonging to his Majesty's Bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform trade for provision, &c. with the inhabitants of George's Island.*

“ I. To endeavour by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives, and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.

“ II. A proper person or persons, will be appointed to trade with the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and other productions of the earth; and no officer or seamen, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of provision, fruit, or other productions of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.

“ III. Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same; and if by any neglect he loseth any of his arms, or working tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases, and he shall receive such farther punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

“ IV. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores of what nature soever.

“ V. No sort of iron, or any thing that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful or necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for any thing but provision.

J. COOK.”

As soon as the ship was properly secured, I went on shore, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, a party



of men under arms, and our friend Owhaw. We were received from the boat by some hundreds of the inhabitants, whose looks at least gave us welcome, though they were struck with such awe, that the first who approached us crouched so low that he almost crept upon his hands and knees. It is remarkable that he, like the people in the canoes, presented to us the same symbol of peace that is known to have been in use among the ancient and mighty nations of the northern hemisphere, the green branch of a tree. We received it with looks and gestures of kindness and satisfaction, and observing that each of them held one in his hand, we immediately gathered every one a bough, and carried it in our hands in the same manner.

They marched with us about half a mile towards the place where the Dolphin had watered, conducted by Owhaw; they then made a full stop, and having laid the ground bare, by clearing away all the plants that grew upon it, the principal persons among them threw their green branches upon the naked spot, and made signs that we should do the same; we immediately showed our readiness to comply, and to give a greater solemnity to the rite, the marines were drawn up, and marching in order, each dropped his bough upon those of the Indians, and we followed their example. We then proceeded, and when we came to the watering-place it was intimated to us by signs that we might occupy that ground, but it happened not to be fit for our purpose. During our walk they had shaken off their first timid sense of our superiority, and were become familiar: they went with us from the watering-place and took a circuit through the woods; as we went along, we distributed beads and other small presents among them, and had the satisfaction to see that they were much gratified. Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, through groves of trees which were loaded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and afforded the most grateful shade.

Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls, and the whole scene realized the poetical fables of Arcadia. We remarked however, not without some regret, that in all our walk we had seen only two hogs, and not a single fowl. Those of our company who had been here with the Dolphin, told us that none of the people whom we had yet seen were of the first class; they suspected that the chiefs had removed, and upon carrying us to the place where what they called the queen's palace had stood, we found that no traces of it were left. We determined therefore to return in the morning, and endeavour to find out the *noblesse* in their retreats.

In the morning, however, before we could leave the ship, several canoes came about us, most of them from the westward, and two of them were filled with people, who by their dress and deportment appeared to be of a superior rank; two of these came on board, and each singled out his friend, one of them whose name we found to be Matchah, fixed upon Mr. Banks, and the other upon me; this ceremony consisted in taking off great part of their clothes and putting them upon us. In return for this, we presented each of them with a hatchet and some beads. Soon after they made signs for us to go with them to the places where they lived, pointing to the S. W. and as I was desirous of finding a more commodious harbour, and making farther trial of the disposition of the people, I consented.

I ordered out two boats, and with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen and our two Indian friends, we embarked for our expedition. After rowing about a league, they made signs that we should go on shore, and gave us to understand that this was the place of their residence. We accordingly landed, among several hundreds of the natives, who conducted us into a house of much greater length than any we had seen. When we entered, we saw

a middle-aged man, whose name we afterwards discovered to be Tootahah; mats were immediately spread, and we were desired to sit down over against him. Soon after we were seated, he ordered a cock and hen to be brought out, which he presented to Mr. Banks and me: we accepted the present, and in a short time each of us received a piece of cloth, perfumed after their manner, by no means disagreeably, which they took great pains to make us remark. The piece presented to Mr. Banks was eleven yards long and two wide; in return for which, he gave a laced silk neckcloth, which he happened to have on, and a linen pocket handkerchief. Tootahah immediately dressed himself in this new finery, with an air of perfect complacency and satisfaction. But it is now time that I should take some notice of the ladies.

Soon after the interchanging of our presents with Tootahah, they attended us to several large houses, in which we walked about with great freedom; they shewed us all the civility of which, in our situation, we could accept, and on their part seemed to have no scruple that would have prevented its being carried farther. The houses which as I have observed before are all open, except a roof, afforded no place of retirement: but the ladies by frequently pointing to the mats upon the ground, and sometimes seating themselves and drawing us down upon them, left us no room to doubt of their being much less jealous of observation than we were.

We now took leave of our friendly chief, and directed our course along the shore, when we had walked about a mile, we met at the head of a great number of people, another chief, whose name was Tubourai Tamaide; with whom we were also to ratify a treaty of peace, with the ceremony of which we were now become better acquainted. Having received the branch which he presented to us, and given another in return, we laid our hands upon our left

breasts, and pronounced the word *Taio*, which we supposed to signify friend, the chief then gave us to understand, that if we chose to eat, he had victuals ready for us. We accepted his offer, and dined very heartily upon fish, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts and plantains, dressed after their manner; they eat some of their fish raw, and raw fish was offered to us, but we declined that part of the entertainment.

During this visit a wife of our noble host, whose name was Tomio, did Mr. Banks the honour to place herself upon the same matt, close by him. Tomio was not in the first bloom of her youth, nor did she appear to have ever been remarkable for her beauty: he did not therefore, I believe, pay her the most flattering attention: it happened too as a farther mortification to this lady, that seeing a very pretty girl among the crowd, he not adverting to the dignity of his companion, beckoned her to come to him; the girl after some entreaty complied, and sat down on the other side of him; he loaded her with beads, and every showy trifle that would please her; his princess, though she was somewhat mortified at the preference that was given to her rival, did not discontinue her civilities, but still assiduously supplied him with the milk of the cocoa-nut, and such other dainties as were in her reach. This scene might possibly have become more curious and interesting, if it had not been suddenly interrupted by an interlude of a more serious kind. Just at this time, Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse complained that their pockets had been picked. Dr. Solander had lost an opera-glass in a shagreen case, and Mr. Monkhouse his snuff-box. This incident unfortunately put an end to the good-humour of the company. Complaint of the injury was made to the chief; and to give it weight, Mr. Banks started up, and hastily struck the butt end of his firelock upon the ground; this action, and the noise that accompanied it, struck the whole assembly with a

panic, and every one of the natives ran out of the house with the utmost precipitation, except the chief, three women, and two or three others, who appeared by their dress to be of a superior rank.

The chief, with a mixture of confusion and concern, took Mr. Banks by the hand, and led him to a large quantity of cloth, which lay at the other end of the house; this he offered to him piece by piece, intimating by signs, that if that would atone for the wrong which had been done, he might take any part of it, or if he pleased the whole. Mr. Banks put it by, and gave him to understand that he wanted nothing but what had been dishonestly taken away. Tubourai Tamaide then went hastily out, leaving Mr. Banks with his wife Tomio, who during the whole scene of terror and confusion had kept constantly at his side, and intimating his desire that he should wait there till his return. Mr. Banks accordingly sat down and conversed with her, as well as he could by signs, about half an hour. The chief then came back with the snuff-box and the case of the opera-glass in his hand, and, with a joy in his countenance that was painted with a strength of expression which distinguishes these people from all others, delivered them to the owners. The case of the opera-glass, however, upon being opened was found to be empty; upon this discovery, his countenance changed in a moment, and catching Mr. Banks again by the hand, he rushed out of the house without uttering any sound, and led him along the shore, walking with great rapidity; when they had got about a mile from the house, a woman met him and gave him a piece of cloth, which he hastily took from her, and continued to press forward with it in his hand. Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse had followed them, and they came at length to a house where they were received by a woman, to whom he gave the cloth, and intimated to the gentlemen that they should give her some beads. They im-



mediately complied, and the beads and cloth being deposited upon the floor, the woman went out, and in about half an hour returned with the opera glass, expressing the same joy upon the occasion that had before been expressed by the chief. The beads were now returned, with an inflexible resolution not to accept them, and the cloth, was with the same pertinacity, forced upon Dr. Solander, as a recompence for the injury that had been done him. He could not avoid accepting the cloth, but insisted in his turn upon giving a new present of beads to the woman. It will not perhaps be easy to account for all the steps that were taken in the recovery of this glass and snuff-box ; but this cannot be thought strange, considering that the scene of action was among a people whose language, policy, and connections are even now but imperfectly known ; upon the whole, however, they show an intelligence and influence which would do honour to any system of government, however regular and improved. In the evening, about six o'clock, we returned to the ship.

---

## CHAP. IX.

*A Place fixed upon for an Observatory and Fort : an Excursion into the Woods, and its Consequences. The Fort erected : a Visit from several chiefs on board and at the Fort, with some Account of the Music of the Natives, and the Manner in which they dispose of their Dead.*

ON the next morning, Saturday the 15th, several of the chiefs whom we had seen the day before came on board, and brought with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which we gave them



hatchets and linen, and such things as seemed to be most acceptable.

As in my excursion to the westward, I had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which we lay, I determined to go on shore, and fix upon some spot, commanded by the ships guns, where I might throw up a small fort for our defence, and prepare for making our astronomical observation.

I therefore took a party of men, and landed without delay, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the astronomer Mr. Green, we soon fixed upon a part of the sandy beach, on the N. E. point of the bay, which was in every respect convenient for our purpose, and not near any habitation of the natives. Having marked out the ground that we intended to occupy, a small tent belonging to Mr. Banks was set up, which had been brought on shore for that purpose: by this time a great number of the people had gathered about us, but, as it appeared, only to look on, there not being a single weapon of any kind among them. I intimated, however, that none of them were to come within the line I had drawn, except one who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw. To these two persons I addressed myself by signs, and endeavoured to make them understand, that we wanted the ground which we had marked out to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then we should go away. Whether I was understood I cannot certainly determine, but the people behaved with a deference and respect that at once pleased and surprised us: they sat down peaceably without the circle and looked on, without giving us any interruption till we had done, which was upwards of two hours. As we had seen no poultry, and but two hogs, in our walk when we were last on shore at this place, we suspected that upon our arrival, they had been driven farther up the country; and the rather, as Owhaw was very importunate with us by signs not to go into the

woods, which, however, and partly for these reasons, we were determined to do. Having therefore appointed the thirteen marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, we set out, and a great number of the natives joined our party. As we were crossing a little river that lay in our way we saw some ducks, and Mr. Banks as soon as he had got over, fired at them, and happened to kill three at one shot: this struck them with the utmost terror, so that most of them fell suddenly to the ground, as if they also had been shot at the same discharge; it was not long, however, before they recovered from their fright, and we continued our rout; but we had not gone far before we were alarmed by the report of two pieces, which were fired by the guard at the tent. We had then straggled a little distance from each other, but Owhaw immediately called us together; and by waving his hand, sent away every Indian who followed us except three, each of whom as a pledge of peace on their part, and an entreaty that there might be peace on ours, hastily broke a branch from the trees, and came to us with it in their hands. As we had too much reason to fear that some mischief had happened, we hasted back to the tent, which was not distant above half a mile, and when we came up, we found it entirely deserted, except by our own people.

It appeared, that one of the Indians who remained about the tent after we left it, had watched his opportunity, and, taking the sentry unawares, had snatched away his musquet. Upon this, the petty officer, a midshipman, who commanded the party, perhaps from a sudden fear of farther violence, perhaps from the natural petulance of power newly acquired, and perhaps from a brutality in his nature, ordered the marines to fire: the men with as little consideration or humanity as the officer, immediately discharged their pieces among the thickest of the flying crowd, consisting of more than a hundred; and observing

that the thief did not fall, pursued him and shot him dead. We afterwards learnt, that none of the others were either killed or wounded.

Owhaw, who had never left us, observing that we were now totally deserted, got together a few of those who had fled, though not without some difficulty, and ranged them about us: we endeavoured to justify our people as well as we could, and to convince the Indians that if they did no wrong to us, we should do no wrong to them: they went away without any appearance of distrust or resentment; and having struck our tent, we returned to the ship, but by no means satisfied with the transactions of the day.

Upon questioning our people more particularly, whose conduct they soon perceived we could not approve, they alleged that the centinel whose musquet was taken away, was violently assaulted, and thrown down, and that a push was afterwards made at him by the man who took the musquet, before any command was given to fire. It was also suggested, that Owhaw had suspicions, at least, if not certain knowledge, that something would be attempted against our people at the tent, which made him so very earnest in his endeavours to prevent our leaving it; others imputed his importunity to his desire that we should confine ourselves to the beach; and it was remarked that neither Owhaw, nor the chiefs who remained with us after he had sent the rest of the people away, would have inferred the breach of peace from the firing at the tent, if they had no reason to suspect that some injury had been offered by their countrymen; especially as Mr. Banks had just fired at the ducks: and yet that they did infer a breach of peace from that incident, as was manifest from their waving their hands for the people to disperse, and instantly pulling green branches from the trees. But what were the real circumstances of this unhappy affair, and whether either and which of these conjectures were true, can never certainly be known.

The next morning but few of the natives were seen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ship. This convinced us that our endeavours to quiet their apprehensions had not been effectual; and we remarked with particular regret, that we were deserted even by Owhaw, who had hitherto been so constant in his attachment, and so active in renewing the peace that had been broken.

Appearances being thus unfavourable, I warped the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to command all the N. E. part of the bay, particularly the place which I had marked out for the building a fort. In the evening, however, I went on shore with only a boat's crew, and some of the gentlemen: the natives gathered about us, but not in the same number as before; there were I believe between thirty and forty, and they trafficked with us for cocoa-nuts and other fruit, to all appearance as friendly as ever.

On the 17th, early in the morning, we had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan, the person whom Mr. Banks had brought out as a painter of landscapes and figures. He was a sober, diligent, and ingenious young man, and greatly regretted by Mr. Banks; who hoped, by his means, to have gratified his friends in England with representations of this country and its inhabitants, which no other person on board could delineate with the same accuracy and elegance. He had always been subject to epileptic fits, one of which seized him on the mountains of Terra del Fuego, and this disorder being aggravated by a bilious complaint, which he contracted on board the ship, at length put an end to his life. It was at first proposed to bury him on shore, but Mr. Banks thinking that it might perhaps give offence to the natives, with whose customs we were then wholly unacquainted, we committed his body to the sea, with as much decency and solemnity as our circumstances and situation would admit.

In the forenoon of this day we received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide and Tootaha, our chiefs from the

west ; they brought with them, as emblems of peace, not branches of plantain, but two young trees, and would not venture on board till these had been received, having probably been alarmed by the mischief which had been done at the tent. Each of them also brought, as propitiatory gifts, some bread-fruit, and a hog ready dressed ; this was a most acceptable present, as we perceived that hogs were not always to be got ; and in return we gave to each of our noble benefactors a hatchet and a nail. In the evening we went on shore and set up a tent, in which Mr. Green and myself spent the night, in order to observe an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter ; but the weather becoming cloudy, we were disappointed.

On the 18th, at day-break, I went on shore, with as many people as could be possibly spared from the ship, and began to erect our fort. While some were employed in throwing up entrenchments, others were busy in cutting pickets and fascines, which the natives, who soon gathered round us as they had been used to do, were so far from hindering, that many of them voluntarily assisted us, bringing the pickets and fascines from the wood where they had been cut, with great alacrity ; we had indeed been so scrupulous of invading their property, that we purchased every stake which was used upon this occasion, and cut down no tree till we had first obtained their consent. The soil where we constructed our fort was sandy, and this made it necessary to strengthen the entrenchments with wood ; three sides were fortified in this manner ; the fourth was bounded by a river, upon the banks of which I proposed to place a proper number of water casks. This day we served pork to the ship's company for the first time, and the Indians brought down so much bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, that we found it necessary to send away part of them unbought, and to acquaint them, by signs, that we should want no more for two days to come. Every thing was purchased this day with beads ; a single bead, as big



as a pea, being the purchase of five or six cocoa-nuts, and as many of the bread-fruit. Mr. Banks's tent was got up before night within the works, and he slept on shore for the first time. Proper centries were placed round it, but no Indian attempted to approach it the whole night.

The next morning our friend Tubourai Tamaide made Mr. Banks a visit, at the tent, and brought him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, and several materials for setting it up, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as we understood him, to take up his residence in our neighbourhood; this instance of his confidence and good-will gave us great pleasure, and we determined to strengthen his attachment to us by every means in our power. Soon after his arrival, he took Mr. Banks by the hand, and leading him out of the line, signified that he should accompany him into the woods. Mr. Banks readily consented, and having walked about with him a quarter of a mile, they had arrived at a kind of awning which he had already set up, and which seemed to be his occasional habitation. Here he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments one of red cloth, and the other of very neat matting, he clothed Mr. Banks in them, and without any other ceremony, immediately conducted him back to the tent. His attendants soon after brought him some pork and bread-fruit, which he eat, dipping his meat into salt water instead of sauces; after his meal he retired to Mr. Banks's bed, and slept about an hour. In the afternoon, his wife Tomio brought to the tent a young man about two and twenty years of age, of a very comely appearance, whom they both seemed to acknowledge as their son, though we afterwards discovered that he was not so. In the evening, this young man and another chief, who had also paid us a visit, went away to the westward, but Tubourai Tamaide and his wife returned to the awning in the skirts of the wood.



Our surgeon, Mr. Monkhouse, having walked out this evening, reported, that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot at the tent, which he said was wrapped in cloth, and placed on a kind of bier, supported by stakes, under a roof that seemed to have been set up for the purpose : that near it were deposited some instruments of war, and other things, which he would particularly have examined but for the stench of the body, which was intolerable. He said, that he saw also two more sheds of the same kind, in one of which were the bones of a human body that had lain till they were quite dry. We discovered afterwards, that this was the way in which they usually disposed of their dead.

A kind of market now began to be kept just without the lines, and was plentifully supplied with every thing but pork. Tubourai Tamaide was our constant guest, imitating our manners, even to the using of a knife and fork, which he did very handily.

As my curiosity was excited by Mr. Monkhouse's account of the situation of the man who had been shot, I took an opportunity to go with some others to see it. I found the shed under which his body lay, close by the house in which he resided when he was alive, some others being no more than ten yards distant ; it was about fifteen feet long, and eleven broad, and of a proportionable height ; one end was wholly open, and the other end, and the two sides, were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker work. The bier on which the corps was deposited, was a frame of wood like that in which the sea beds, called cotts, are placed, with a matted bottom, and supported by four posts, at the height of about five feet from the ground. The body was covered first with a mat, and then with white cloth ; by the side of it lay a wooden mace, one of their weapons of war, and near the head of it, which lay next to the close end of the shed, lay two cocoa-nut-shells, such as are sometimes used to carry water in ; at the other end a bunch of green leaves,

with some dried twigs, all tied together, were stuck in the ground, by which lay a stone about as big as a cocoa-nut ; near these lay one of the young plantain trees, which are used for emblems of peace, and close by it a stone ax. At the open end of the shed also hung, in several strings, a great number of palm-nuts, and without the shed, was stuck upright in the ground, the stem of the plantain tree about five feet high, upon the top of which was placed a cocoa-nut-shell full of fresh water : against the side of one of the posts hung a small bag, containing a few pieces of bread-fruit ready roasted, which were not all put in at the same time, for some of them were fresh, and others stale. I took notice that several of the natives observed us with a mixture of solicitude and jealousy in their countenances, and by their gestures expressed uneasiness when we went near the body, standing themselves at a little distance while we were making our examination, and appearing to be pleased when we came away.

Our residence on shore would by no means have been disagreeable, if we had not been incessantly tormented by the flies, which among other mischief, made it almost impossible for Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Banks's natural history painter, to work ; for they not only covered his subject so as that no part of its surface could be seen, but even eat the colour off the paper as fast as he could lay it on. We had recourse to musquito nets and fly-traps, which, though they made the inconvenience tolerable, were very far from removing it.

On the 22d, Tootahah gave us a specimen of the music of this country ; four persons performed upon flutes which had only two stops, and therefore could not sound more than four notes, by half tones : they were sounded like our German flutes, except that the performer, instead of applying it to his mouth, blew into it with one nostril, while he stopped the other with his thumb : to these instruments four other persons

sung, and kept very good time ; but only one tune was played during the whole concert.

Several of the natives brought us axes, which they had received from on board the Dolphin, to grind and repair ; but among others there was one which became the subject of much speculation, as it appeared to be French : after much enquiry we learnt that a ship had been here between our arrival and the departure of the Dolphin, which we then conjectured to have been a Spaniard, but now know to have been the Boudouse, commanded by M. Bougainville.

---

## CHAP. X.

*An Excursion to the Eastward ; an Account of several Incidents that happened both on board and on shore, and of the first Interview with Oberea, the person who, when the Dolphin was here, was supposed to be Queen of the Island, with a Description of the Fort.*

ON the 24th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the east-ward : for about two miles it was flat and fertile ; after that the hills stretched quite to the water's edge, and a little farther ran out into the sea, so that they were obliged to climb over them. These hills, which were barren, continued for about three miles more, and then terminated in a large plain, which was full of good houses, and people who appeared to live in great affluence. In this place there was a river, much more considerable than that at our fort, which issued from a deep and beautiful valley, and, where our travellers crossed it, though at some distance from the sea, was near one hundred yards wide. About a mile beyond this river the country became again barren, the rocks every

where projecting into the sea, for which reason they resolved to return. Just as they had formed this resolution, one of the natives offered them refreshment, which they accepted. They found this man to be of a kind that has been described by various authors, as mixed with many nations, but distinct from them all. His skin was of a dead white, without the least appearance of what is called complexion, though some parts of his body were in a small degree less white than others: his hair, eye-brows, and beard, were as white as his skin: his eyes appeared as if they were bloodshot, and he seemed to be very short-sighted.

At their return they were met by Tubourai Tamaide, and his women who at seeing them, felt a joy which not being able to express, they burst into tears, and wept some time before their passion could be restrained.

This evening Dr. Solander lent his knife to one of these women, who neglected to return it, and the next morning Mr. Banks's also was missing; upon this occasion I must bear my testimony, that the people of this country, of all ranks, men and women, are the arrantest thieves upon the face of the earth: the very day after we arrived here, when they came on board us, the Chiefs were employed in stealing what they could in the cabin, and their dependants were no less industrious in other parts of the ship; they snatched up every thing that it was possible for them to secrete till they got on shore, even to the glass ports, two of which they carried off undetected. Tubourai Tamaide was the only one except Tootahah who had not been found guilty, and the presumption arising from this circumstance, that he was exempt from a vice, of which the whole nation besides were guilty, cannot be supposed to outweigh strong appearances to the contrary. Mr. Banks therefore, though not without some reluctance, accused him of having stolen his knife: he solemnly and steadily denied that he knew any thing of it; upon which Mr. Banks made him understand,

that whoever had taken it, he was determined to have it returned : upon this resolute declaration, one of the natives who was present produced a rag in which three knives were very carefully tied up. One was that which Dr. Solander had lent to the woman, another was a table knife belonging to me, and the owner of the third was not known. With these the chief immediately set out, in order to make restitution of them to their owners at the tents. Mr. Banks remained with the women, who expressed great apprehensions that some mischief was designed against their lord. When he came to the tents he restored one of the knives to Dr. Solander and another to me, the third not being owned, and then began to search for Mr. Banks's in all the places where he had ever seen it. After some time, one of Mr. Banks's servants, understanding what he was about, immediately fetched his master's knife, which it seems he had laid by the day before, and till now knew nothing of its having been missed. Tubourai Tamaide, upon this demonstration of his innocence, expressed the strongest emotions of mind, both in his looks and gestures ; the tears started from his eyes, and he made signs, with the knife, that, if he was ever guilty of such an action as had been imputed to him, he would submit to have his throat cut. He then rushed out of the lines, and returned hastily to Mr. Banks, with a countenance that severely reproached him with his suspicions. Mr. Banks soon understood that the knife had been received from his servant, and was scarcely less affected at what had happened than the chief ; he felt himself to be the guilty person, and was very desirous to atone for his fault. The poor Indian, however violent his passions, was a stranger to sullen resentment ; and upon Mr. Banks spending a little time familiarly with him, and making him a few trifling presents, he forgot the wrong that had been done him, and was perfectly reconciled.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that these people have a knowledge of right and wrong from the



mere dictates of natural conscience ; and involuntarily condemn themselves when they do that to others, which they would condemn others for doing to them. That Tubourai Tamaide felt the force of moral obligation, is certain ; for the imputation of an action which he considered as indifferent would not, when it appeared to be groundless, have moved him with such excess of passion. We must indeed estimate the virtue of these people, by the only standard of morality, the conformity of their conduct to what in their opinion is right ; but we must not hastily conclude that theft is a testimony of the same depravity in them that it is in us, in the instances in which our people were sufferers by their dishonesty ; for their temptation was such, as to surmount would be considered as a proof of uncommon integrity among those who have more knowledge, better principles and stronger motives to resist the temptations of illicit advantage : an Indian among penny knives, and beads, or even nails and broken glass, is in the same state of trial with the meanest servant in Europe among unlocked coffers of jewels and gold.

On the 26th, I mounted six swivel guns upon the fort, which I was sorry to see struck the natives with dread : some fishermen who lived upon the point removed farther off, and Owhaw told us, by signs, that in four days we should fire great guns.

On the 27th, Tubourai Tamaide, with a friend, who eat with a voracity that I never saw before, and the three women that usually attended him, whose names were Terapo, Tirao, and Omië, dined at the fort : in the evening they took their leave, and set out for the house which Tubourai Tamaide had set up in the skirts of the wood ; but in less than a quarter of an hour he returned in great emotion, and hastily seizing Mr. Banks's arm, made signs that he should follow him. Mr. Banks immediately complied, and they soon came up to a place where they found the ship's butcher, with a reaping-hook in his hand : here the chief stopped,



and, in a transport of rage which rendered his signs scarcely intelligible, intimated that the butcher had threatened, or attempted, to cut his wife's throat with the reaping-hook. Mr. Banks then signified to him, that if he could fully explain the offence, the man should be punished. Upon this he became more calm, and made Mr. Banks understand that the offender, having taken a fancy to a stone hatchet which lay in his house, had offered to purchase it of his wife for a nail : that she having refused to part with it upon any terms, he had caught it up, and throwing down the nail, threatened to cut her throat if she made any resistance : to prove this charge the hatchet and the nail were produced, and the butcher had so little to say in his defence that there was not the least reason to doubt of its truth.

Mr. Banks having reported this matter to me, I took an opportunity, when the chief and his women, with other Indians, were on board the ship, to call up the butcher, and after a recapitulation of the charge and the proof, I gave orders that he should be punished, as well as to prevent other offences of the same kind, as to acquit Mr. Banks of his promise ; the Indians saw him stripped and tied up to the rigging with a fixed attention, waiting in silent suspense for the event ; but as soon as the first stroke was given, they interfered with great agitation, earnestly intreating that the rest of the punishment might be remitted ; to this, however, for many reasons, I could not consent, and when they found that they could not prevail by their intercession, they gave vent to their pity by tears.

Their tears indeed, like those of children, were always ready to express any passion that was strongly excited, and like those of children they also appeared, to be forgotten as soon as shed ; of which the following, among many others, is a remarkable instance. Very early in the morning of the 28th, even before it was day, a great number of them came down to the fort, and Terapo being observed among the women on the outside of

the gate, Mr. Banks went out and brought her in ; he saw that the tears then stood in her eyes, and as soon as she entered they began to flow in great abundance : he enquired earnestly the cause but instead of answering she took from under her garment a shark's tooth, and struck it six or seven times into her head with great force ; a profusion of blood followed, and she talked loud, but in a most melancholy tone, for some minutes, without at all regarding his enquiries, which he repeated with still more impatience and concern, while the other Indians, to his great surprize, talked and laughed, without taking the least notice of her distress. But her own behaviour was still more extraordinary. As soon as the bleeding was over, she looked up with a smile, and began to collect some small pieces of cloth, which during her bleeding she had thrown down to catch the blood ; as soon as she had picked them all up, she carried them out of the tent, and threw them into the sea, carefully dispersing them abroad, as if she wished to prevent the sight of them from reviving the remembrance of what she had done. She then plunged into the river, and after having washed her whole body, returned to the tents with the same gaiety and cheerfulness as if nothing had happened.

It is not indeed strange that the sorrows of these artless people should be transient, any more than that their passions should be suddenly and strongly expressed : what they feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and having no habits of thinking which perpetually recal the past, and anticipate the future, they are affected by all the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of the time, however frequently it may vary : they have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitted anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into the mind when they awake in the morning, and is last dismissed when they sleep at night. Yet if we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man,

and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge and the enlargement of our views.

Canoes were continually coming in during all this forenoon, and the tents at the fort were crowded with people of both sexes from different parts of the island. I was myself busy on board the ship, but Mr. Mollineux, our master, who was one of those that made the last voyage in the *Dolphin*, went on shore. As soon as he entered Mr. Banks's tent he fixed his eyes upon one of the women, who was sitting there with great composure among the rest, and immediately declared her to be the person who at that time was supposed to be queen of the island; she also, at the same time, acknowledging him to be one of the strangers whom she had seen before. The attention of all present was now diverted from every other object, and wholly engaged in considering a person who had made so distinguished a figure in the accounts that had been given of this island by its first discoverers; and we soon learnt that her name was Oberea. She seemed to be about forty years of age, and was not only tall, but of a large make; her skin was white, and there was an uncommon intelligence and sensibility in her eyes: she appeared to have been handsome when she was young, but at this time little more than memorials of her beauty were left.

As soon as her quality was known, an offer was made to conduct her to the ship. Of this she readily accepted, and came on board with two men and several women, who seemed to be all of her family; I received her with such marks of distinction as I thought would gratify her most, and was not sparing of my presents, among which this august personage seemed particularly delighted with a child's doll. After some time spent on board, I attended her back to the shore; and as soon as we landed, she presented me with a hog, and several bunches of plantains, which she caused to be carried from her canoes up to the fort

in a kind of procession, of which she and myself brought up the rear. In our way to the fort we met Tootahah, who, though not king, appeared to be at this time invested with the sovereign authority : he seemed not to be well pleased with the distinction that was shewed to the lady, and became so jealous when she produced her doll, that to propitiate him it was thought proper to compliment him with another. At this time he thought fit to prefer a doll to a hatchet ; but this preference arose only from a childish jealousy, which could not be soothed but by a gift of exactly the same kind with that which had been presented to Oberea ; for dolls in a very short time were universally considered as trifles of no value.

The men who had visited us from time to time had, without scruple, eaten of our provisions ; but the women had never yet been prevailed upon to taste a morsel. To-day, however, they refused the most pressing solicitations to dine with the gentlemen, they afterwards retired to the servants' apartment, and eat of plantains very heartily ; a mystery of female œconomy here, which none of us could explain.

On the 29th, not very early in the forenoon, Mr. Banks went to pay his court to Oberea ; and was told that she was still asleep under the awning of her canoe : thither therefore he went, intending to call her up, a liberty which he thought he might take, without any danger of giving offence : but, upon looking into her chamber, to his great astonishment, he found her in bed with a handsome young fellow about five and twenty, whose name was Obadée : he retreated with some haste and confusion, but was soon made to understand, that such amours gave no occasion to scandal, and that Obadée was universally known to have been selected by her as the object of her private favours. The lady being too polite to suffer Mr. Banks to wait long in her antichamber, dressed herself with more than usual expedition, and as a token of special grace, clothed him in a suit of fine cloth and proceeded with

him to the tents. In the evening, Mr. Banks paid a visit to Tabourai Tamaide, as he had often done before, by candle light, and was equally grieved and surprized to find him and his family in a melancholy mood, and most of them in tears; he endeavoured in vain to discover the cause, and therefore his stay among them was but short. When he reported this circumstance to the officers at the fort, they recollected that Owhaw had foretold, that in four days we should fire our great guns; and as this was the eve of the third day, the situation in which Tabourai Tamaide and his family had been found, alarmed them. The sentries therefore were doubled at the fort, and the gentlemen slept under arms; at two in the morning, Mr. Banks himself went round the point, but found every thing so quiet, that he gave up all suspicions of mischief intended by the natives as groundless. We had however another source of security; our little fortification was now complete. The north and south sides consisted of a bank of earth four feet and a half high on the inside, and a ditch without ten feet broad and six deep; on the west side, facing the bay, there was a bank of earth four feet high, and pallisadoes upon that, but no ditch, the works here being at high-water mark; on the east side, upon the bank of the river, was placed a double row of water casks, filled with water; and as this was the weakest side, the two four pounders were planted there, and six swivel guns were mounted so as to command the only two avenues from the woods. Our garrison consisted of about five and forty men with small arms, including the officers, and the gentlemen who resided on shore; and our sentries were as well relieved as in the best regulated frontier in Europe.

We continued our vigilance the next day, though we had no particular reason to think it necessary; but about ten o'clock in the morning, Tomio came running to the tents, with a mixture of grief and fear in her countenance, and taking Mr. Banks, to whom



they applied in every emergency and distress, by the arm, intimated that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, in consequence of something which our people had given him to eat, and that he must instantly go with her to his house. Mr. Banks set out without delay, and found his Indian friend leaning his head against a post, in an attitude of the utmost languor and despondency; the people about him intimated that he had been vomiting, and brought out a leaf folded up with great care, which they said contained some of the poison, by the deleterious effects of which he was now dying. Mr. Banks hastily opened the leaf, and upon examining its contents found them to be no other than a chew of tobacco, which the chief had begged of some of our people, and which they had indiscreetly given him: he had observed that they kept it long in the mouth, and being desirous of doing the same, he had chewed it to powder, and swallowed the spittle. During the examination of the leaf and its contents, he looked up at Mr. Banks with the most piteous aspect, and intimated that he had but a very short time to live. Mr. Banks, however, being now master of his disease, directed him to drink plentifully of cocoa-nut milk, which in a short time put an end to his sickness and apprehensions, and he spent the day at the fort with that uncommon flow of cheerfulness and good humour, which is always produced by a sudden and unexpected relief from pain either of body or mind.

Captain Wallis having brought home one of the adzes which these people, having no metal of any kind, make of stone, Mr. Stevens, the Secretary to the Admiralty, procured one to be made of iron in imitation of it, which I brought out with me, to shew how much we excelled in making tools after their own fashion: this I had not yet produced, at it never happened to come into my mind. But on the first of May, Tootahah coming on board about ten o'clock in the forenoon, expressed a great curiosity to see the contents of every chest and drawer that was in my



cabin ; as I always made a point of gratifying him, I opened them immediately, and having taken a fancy to many things that he saw, and collected them together, he at last happened to cast his eye upon this adze ; he instantly snatched it up with the greatest eagerness, and putting away every thing which he had before selected, he asked me if I would let him have that : I readily consented ; and, as if he was afraid I should repent, he carried it off immediately in a transport of joy, without making any other request, which whatever had been our liberality was seldom the case.

About noon a chief, who had dined with me a few days before, accompanied by some of his women, came on board alone : I had observed that he was fed by his women, but I made no doubt, that upon occasion he would condescend to feed himself : in this, however, I found myself mistaken. When my noble guest was seated, and the dinner upon the table, I helped him to some victuals ; as I observed that he did not immediately begin his meal, I pressed him to eat : but he still continued to sit motionless like a statue, without attempting to put a single morsel into his mouth, and would certainly have gone without his dinner, if one of the servants had not fed him.

---

## CHAP. XI.

*The Observatory set up ; the Quadrant stolen, and Consequences of the Theft : a Visit to Tootahah : Description of a Wrestling-mutch : European Seeds Sown : Names given to our People by the Indians.*

IN the afternoon of Monday the 1st of May, we set up the observatory, and took the astronomical

quadrant, with some other instruments on shore, for the first time.

The next morning about nine o'clock, I went on shore with Mr. Green to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when to our inexpressible surprize and concern it was not to be found. It had been deposited in the tent which was reserved for my use, whereas I passed the night on board, nobody slept: it had never been taken out of the packing case, which was eighteen inches square, and the whole was of considerable weight; a sentinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent door, and none of the other instruments were missing. We at first suspected that it might have been stolen by some of our own people, who seeing a deal box and not knowing the contents, might think it contained nails, or some other subjects of traffic with the natives. A large reward was therefore offered to any one who could find it, as without this we could not perform the service for which our voyage was principally undertaken. Our search in the mean time was not confined to the fort and the places adjacent, but as the case might possibly have been carried back to the ship, if any of our own people had been the thieves, the most diligent search was made for it on board, all the parties however returned without any news of the quadrant. Mr. Banks, therefore, who upon such occasions declined neither labour nor risk, and who had more influence over the Indians than any of us, determined to go in search of it into the woods; he hoped that if it had been stolen by the natives, he should find it wherever they had opened the box, as they would immediately discover that to them it would be wholly useless; or if in this expectation he should be disappointed, that he might recover it by the ascendancy he had acquired over the chiefs. He set out, accompanied by a midshipman and Mr. Green, and as he was crossing the

river, he was met by Tubourai Tamaide, who immediately made the figure of a triangle with three bits of straw upon his hand. By this Mr. Banks knew that the Indians were the thieves; and that although they had opened the case, they were not disposed to part with the contents. No time was therefore to be lost, and Mr. Banks made Tubourai Tamaide understand, that he must instantly go to the place whither the quadrant had been carried; he consented, and they set out together to the eastward, the chief inquiring at every house which they passed after the thief by name; the people readily told him which way he was gone, and how long it was since he had been there: the hope which this gave them that they should overtake him, supported them under their fatigue, and they pressed forward, sometimes walking, sometimes running, though the weather was intolerably hot; when they had climbed a hill, at the distance of four miles, their conductor shewed them a point full three miles farther, and gave them to understand that they were not to expect the instrument till they had got thither. Here they paused, they had no arms, except a pair of pistols, which Mr. Banks always carried in his pocket; they were going to a place which was at least seven miles distant from the fort, where the Indians might be less submissive than at home, and to take from them what they had ventured their lives to get, and what notwithstanding our conjectures, they appeared desirous to keep; these were discouraging circumstances, and their situation would become more critical at every step. They determined, however, not to relinquish their enterprize, nor to pursue it without taking the best measures for their security that were in their power. It was therefore determined that Mr. Banks and Mr. Green should go on, and that the midshipman should return to me, and desire that I would send a party of men after them, acquainting me at the same time, that it was im-

possible they should return till it was dark. Upon receiving this message I set out, with such a party as I thought sufficient for the occasion, leaving orders both at the ship and at the fort, that no canoe should be suffered to go out of the bay, but that none of the natives should be seized or detained.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green pursued their journey, under the auspices of Tubourai Tamaide, and in the very spot which he had specified, they met one of his own people, with part of the quadrant in his hand. At this most welcome sight they stopped, and a great number of Indians immediately came up, some of whom pressing rather rudely upon them, Mr. Banks thought it necessary to shew one of his pistols, the sight of which reduced them instantly to order, as the crowd that gathered round them was every moment increasing, he marked out a circle in the grass, and they ranged themselves on the outside of it to the number of several hundreds with great quietness and decorum. Into the middle of this circle, the box which was now arrived was ordered to be brought, with several reading glasses, and other small matters, which in their hurry they had put into a pistol-case, that Mr. Banks knew to be his property, it having been some time before stolen from the tents, with a horse-pistol in it, which he immediately demanded, and which was also restored.

Mr. Green was impatient to see whether all that had been taken away was returned, and upon examining the box found the stand, and a few small things of less consequence wanting; several persons were sent in search of these, and most of the small things were returned, but it was signified that the thief had not brought the stand so far, and that it would be delivered to our friends, as they went back this being confirmed by Tubourai Tamaide, they prepared to return, as nothing would then be wanting but what might easily be supplied; and after they had

advanced about two miles, I met them with my party to our mutual satisfaction, congratulating each other upon the recovery of the quadrant, with a pleasure proportioned to the importance of the event.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Banks with Tubourai Tamaide got back to the fort; when to his great surprise he found Tootahah in custody, and many of the natives in the utmost terror and distress, crowding about the gate. He went hastily in, some of the Indians were suffered to follow him, and the scene was extremely affecting. Tubourai Tamaide pressing forward, ran up to Tootahah and catching him in his arms, they both burst into tears, and wept over each other, without being able to speak; the other Indians were also in tears for their chief, both he and they being strongly possessed with the notion that he was to be put to death. In this situation they continued till I entered the fort, which was about a quarter of an hour afterwards. I was equally surprised and concerned at what had happened, the confining Tootahah being contrary to my orders, and therefore instantly set him at liberty. Upon enquiring into the affair, I was told that my going into the woods with a party of men under arms, at a time when a robbery had been committed, which it was supposed I should resent, in proportion to our apparent injury by the loss, had so alarmed the natives that in the evening they began to leave the neighbourhood of the fort with their effects: that a double canoe having been seen to put off from the bottom of the bay by Mr. Gore the second lieutenant, who was left in command on board the ship, and who had received orders not to suffer any canoe to go out, he sent the boatswain with a boat after her to bring her back; that as soon as the boat came up, the Indians being alarmed, leaped into the sea; and that Tootahah being unfortunately one of the number, the boatswain took him up, and brought him to the ship, suffering the rest of the people to swim



on shore ; that Mr. Gore not sufficiently attending to the order that none of the people should be confined, had sent him to the fort, and Mr. Hicks the first lieutenant who commanded there, receiving him in charge from Gore, did not think himself at liberty to dismiss him.

The notion that we intended to put him to death had possessed him so strongly, that he could not be persuaded to the contrary till by my orders he was led out of the fort. The people received him as they would have done a father in the same circumstances, and every one pressed forward to embrace him. Sudden joy is commonly liberal, without a scrupulous regard to merit ; and Tootahah in the first expansion of his heart, upon being unexpectedly restored to liberty and life, insisted upon our receiving a present of two hogs, though being conscious that upon this occasion, we had no claim to favours, we refused them many times.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander attended the next morning in their usual capacity of market-men, but very few Indians appeared, and those who came brought no provisions. Tootahah, however, sent some of his people after the canoe that had been detained which they took away. A canoe having also been detained that belonged to Oberea, Tupia, the person who managed her affairs when the Dolphin was here, was sent to examine whether any thing on board had been taken away, and he was so well satisfied of the contrary, that he left the canoe where he found it, and joined us at the fort, where he spent the day, and slept on board the canoe at night. About noon, some fishing boats came abreast of the tents, but would part with very little of what they had on board ; and we felt the want of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit very severely. In the course of the day, Mr. Banks walked out into the woods, that by conversing with the people he might recover their confidence and good-will ; he found them civil, but



they all complained of the ill-treatment of their chief, who they said had been beaten and pulled by the hair. Mr. Banks endeavoured to convince them that he had suffered no personal violence, which to the best of our knowledge was true; yet, perhaps the boatswain had behaved with a brutality which he was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge. The chief himself being probably upon recollection of opinion that we had ill-deserved the hogs, which he had left with us as a present, sent a messenger in the afternoon to demand an ax, and a shirt in return, but as I was told that he did not intend to come down to the fort for ten days, I excused myself from giving them till I should see him, hoping that his impatience might induce him to fetch them, and knowing that absence would probably continue the coolness between us, to which the first interview might put an end.

The next day we were still more sensible of the inconvenience we had incurred by giving offence to the people in the person of their chief, for the market was so ill supplied that we were in want of necessaries. Mr. Banks therefore went into the woods to Tubourai Tamaide, and with some difficulty persuaded him to let us have five baskets of bread-fruit, a very seasonable supply, as they contained above one hundred and twenty. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Tootahah for the ax and shirt; as it was now become absolutely necessary to recover the friendship of this man, without which it would be scarcely possible to procure provisions, I sent word that Mr. Banks and myself would visit him on the morrow, and bring what he wanted with us.

Early the next morning he sent again to remind me of my promise, and his people seemed to wait till we should set out with great impatience: I therefore ordered the pinnace in which I embarked with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander about ten o'clock: we took one of Tootahah's people in the boat with

us, and in about an hour we arrived at his place of residence, which is called Eparre, and is about four miles to the westward of the tents.

We found the people waiting for us in great numbers upon the shore, so that it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded if way had not been made for us by a tall well-looking man, who had something like a turban about his head, and a long white stick in his hand, with which he laid about him at an unmerciful rate. This man conducted us to the chief, while the people shouted round us, *Taio Tootahah*, "Tootahah is your friend." We found him like an ancient patriarch, sitting under a tree, with a number of venerable old men standing round him; he made a sign to us to sit down, and immediately asked for his ax, this I presented to him with an upper garment of broad cloth, made after the country fashion and trimmed with tape, to which I also added a shirt; he received them with great satisfaction, and immediately put on the garment; but the shirt he gave to the person who had cleared the way for us upon our landing, who was now seated by us, and of whom he seemed desirous that we should take particular notice. In a short time, Oberea and several other women whom we knew, came and sat down among us. Tootahah left us several times, but after a short absence returned, we thought it had been to shew himself in his new finery to the people, but we wronged him, for it was to give directions for our refreshment and entertainment. While we were waiting for his return the last time he left us, very impatient to be dismissed, as we were almost suffocated in the crowd, word was brought us that he expected us elsewhere, we found him sitting under the awning of our own boat, and making signs that we should come to him; as many of us therefore went on board as the boat would hold, and he then ordered bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to be brought, of both

which we tasted rather to gratify him than because we had a desire to eat. A message was soon after brought him, upon which he went out of the boat, and we were in a short time desired to follow. We were conducted to a large area or court-yard, which was railed round with bamboos about three feet high on one side of his house, where an entertainment was provided for us entirely new: this was a wrestling match. At the upper end of the area sat the chief, and several of his principal men were ranged on each side of him so as to form a semicircle; these were the judges, by whom the victor was to be applauded; seats were also left for us at each end of the line, but we chose rather to be at liberty among the rest of the spectators.

When all was ready, ten or twelve persons whom we understood to be the combatants, and who were naked, except a cloth that was fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm, so as to produce a quick smart sound, this was a general challenge to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present; after these followed others in the same manner, and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist: this was done by joining the finger ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion: if the person to whom this was addressed accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage: the next minute they closed; but, except in first seizing each other it was a mere contest of strength: each endeavoured to lay hold of the other first by the thigh, and if that failed by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or elsewhere as he could, when this was done they grappled, without the least

dexterity or skill, till one of them, by having a more advantageous hold, or greater muscular force, threw the other on his back. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudit to the victor in a few words, which they repeated together in a kind of tune : his conquest was also generally celebrated by three huzzas. The entertainment was then suspended for a few minutes, after which another couple of wrestlers came forward and engaged in the same manner ; if it happened that neither was thrown, after the contest had continued about a minute, they parted either by consent or the intervention of their friends, and in this case each slapped his arm, as a challenge to a new engagement, either with the same antagonist or some other. While the wrestlers were engaged, another party of men performed a dance which lasted also about a minute ; but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on what they were doing. We observed with pleasure, that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror ; the whole contest was carried on with perfect good-will and good-humour, though in the presence of at least five hundred spectators, of whom some were women. The number of women indeed was comparatively small, none but those of rank were present, and we had reason to believe that they would not have been spectators of this exercise but in compliment to us.

This lasted about two hours, during all which time the man who had made way for us when we landed, kept the people at a proper distance, by striking those who pressed forward very severely with his stick ; upon enquiry we learnt that he was an officer belonging to Teotabab, acting as a master of the ceremonies.

It is scarcely possible for those who are acquainted with the athletic sports of very remote antiquity, not to remark a rude resemblance of them in this wrest-

ling-match among the natives of a little island in the midst of the Pacific Ocean: and even our female readers may recollect the account given of them by Fenelon in his *Telemachus*, where, though the events are fictitious, the manners of the age are faithfully transcribed from authors by whom they are supposed to have been truly related.

When the wrestling was over, we were given to understand that two hogs, and a large quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for our dinner, which as our appetites were now keen, was very agreeable intelligence. Our host, however, seemed to repent of his liberality; for, instead of setting his two hogs before us, he ordered one of them to be carried into our boat: at first we were not sorry for this new disposition of matters, thinking that we should dine more comfortably in the boat than on shore, as the crowd would more easily be kept at a distance: but when we came on board he ordered us to proceed with his hog to the ship; this was mortifying, as we were now to row four miles while our dinner was growing cold; however, we thought fit to comply, and were at last gratified with the cheer that he had provided, of which he and Tubourai Tamaide had a liberal share.

Our reconciliation with this man operated upon the people like a charm; for he was no sooner known to be on board, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions were brought to the fort in great plenty.

Affairs now went on in the usual channel; but pork being still a scarce commodity, our master, Mr. Molineux, and Mr. Green, went in the pinnace to the eastward, on the 8th, early in the morning, to see whether they could procure any hogs or poultry in that part of the country: they proceeded in that direction twenty miles; but though they saw many hogs, and one turtle, they could not purchase either at any price: the people every where told them, that they all belonged to Footahah, and that they could sell none of



them without his permission. We now began to think that this man was indeed a great prince ; for an influence so extensive and absolute could be acquired by no other. And we afterwards found that he administered the government of this part of the island, as sovereign, for a minor whom we never saw all the time that we were upon it. When Mr. Green returned from this expedition, he said he had seen a tree of a size which he was afraid to relate, it being no less than sixty yards in circumference ; but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander soon explained to him, that it was a species of the fig, the branches of which, bending down, take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, which being very close to each other, and all joined by a common vegetation, might easily be mistaken for one.

Though the market at the fort was now tolerably supplied, provisions were brought more slowly : a sufficient quantity used to be purchased between sun-rise and eight o'clock, but it was now become necessary to attend the greatest part of the day. Mr. Banks, therefore, fixed his little boat up before the door of the fort, which was of great use as a place to trade in : hitherto we had purchased cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit for beads ; but the market becoming rather slack in these articles, we were now for the first time, forced to bring out our nails : one of our smallest size, which was about four inches long, procured us twenty cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit in proportion, so that in a short time our first plenty was restored.

On the 9th, soon after breakfast, we received a visit from Oberea, being the first that she had made us after the loss of our quadrant, and the unfortunate confinement of Tootahah ; with her came her present favourite, Obadée, and Tupia : they brought us a hog and some bread-fruit, in return for which we gave her a hatchet. We had now afforded our Indian friends a new and interesting object of curiosity, our forge, which having been set up some time, was almost con-



stantly at work. It was now common for them to bring pieces of iron, which we supposed they must have got from the Dolphin, to be made into tools of various kinds ; and as I was very desirous to gratify them, they were indulged, except when the smith's time was too precious to be spared. Oberea having received her hatchet, produced as much old iron as would have made another, with a request that another might be made of it : in this, however, I could not gratify her, upon which she brought out a broken ax, and desired it might be mended ; I was glad of an opportunity to compromise the difference between us : her ax was mended, and she appeared to be content. They went away at night, and took with them the canoe, which had been a considerable time at the point, but promised to return in three days.

On the 10th, I put some seeds of melons and other plants into a spot of ground which had been turned up for the purpose ; they had all been sealed up by the person of whom they were bought, in small bottles with rosin ; but none of them came up except mustard ; even the cucumbers and melons failed, and Mr. Banks is of opinion that they were spoiled by the total exclusion of fresh air.

This day we learnt the Indian name of the island, which is Otaheite, and by that name I shall hereafter distinguish it : but after great pains taken we found it utterly impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce our names ; we had, therefore, new names, consisting of such sounds as they produced in the attempt. They called me *Toote* ; Mr. Hicks, *Hete* ; Molineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the Master *Boba*, from his Christian name Robert ; Mr. Gore was *Toarro* ; Dr. Solander, *Torano* ; and Mr. Banks, *Tapanne* ; Mr. Green, *Eteree* ; Mr. Parkinson, *Patini* ; Mr. Sporing, *Polini* ; Petersgill, *Petrodero* ; and in this manner they had now formed names for almost every man in the ship : in some however, it was not easy to find any traces of the original, and they were

perhaps not mere arbitrary sounds formed upon the occasion, but significant words in their own language. Monkhouse the Midshipman, who commanded the party that killed the man for stealing the musket, they called *Matte*; not merely by an attempt to imitate in sound the first syllable of Monkhouse, but because *Matte* signifies *dead*; and this probably might be the case with others.

---

## CHAP. XII.

*Some Ladies visit the Fort with very uncommon Ceremonies: The Indians attend Divine Service, and in the Evening exhibit a most extraordinary Spectacle: Tubourai Tamaide falls into Temptation.*

FRIDAY, the 12th of May, was distinguished by a visit from some ladies whom we had never seen before, and who introduced themselves with some very singular ceremonies. Mr. Banks was trading in his boat at the gate of the fort as usual, in company with Tootahah, who had that morning paid him a visit, and some other of the natives; between nine and ten o'clock, a double canoe came to the landing-place, under the awning of which sat a man and two women: the Indians that were about Mr. Banks made signs that he should go out to meet them, which he hastened to do; but by the time he could get out of the boat, they had advanced within ten yards of him: they then stopped, and made signs that he should do so too, laying down about a dozen young plantain trees, and some other small plants: he complied, and the people having made a lane between them, the man, who appeared to be a servant, brought six of them to Mr. Banks by one of each at a time, passing and repassing six times, and always pronounc-

ing a short sentence when he delivered them. Tupia, who stood by Mr. Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and receiving the branches as they were brought, laid them down in the boat. When this was done, another man brought a large bundle of cloth, which having opened, he spread piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitors ; there were nine pieces, and having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremost of the women, who seemed to be the principal, and who was called Oorattoa, stepped upon them, and taking up her garments all round her to the waist, turned about, with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, three times ; when this was done, she dropped the veil, and stepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and she repeated the ceremony, then stepping off as before ; the last three were laid on, and the ceremony was repeated in the same manner the third time. Immediately after this the cloth was rolled up, and given to Mr. Banks, as a present from the lady, who, with her friends, came up and saluted him. He made such presents to them both as he thought would be most acceptable, and after having staid about an hour they went away. In the evening, the gentlemen at the fort had a visit from Oberca, and her favourite attendant, whose name was Otheothea, an agreeable girl, whom they were the more pleased to see, because, having been some days absent, it had been reported that she was either sick or dead.

On the 13th, the market being over about ten o'clock, Mr. Banks walked into the woods with his gun, as he generally did, for the benefit of the shade in the heat of the day : as he was returning back, he met Tubourai Tamaide, near his occasional dwelling, and stopping to spend a little time with him, he suddenly took the gun out of Mr. Banks's hand, cocked it, and, holding it up in the air, drew the trigger : fortunately for him, it flashed in the pan : Mr. Banks immediately

took it from him, not a little surprised how he had acquired sufficient knowledge of a gun to discharge it, and reproved him with great severity for what he had done. As it was of infinite importance to keep the Indians totally ignorant of the management of fire-arms, he had taken every opportunity of intimating that they could never offend him so highly as by even touching his piece ; it was now proper to enforce this prohibition, and he therefore added threats to his reproof ; the Indian bore all patiently ; but the moment Mr. Banks crossed the river, he set off with all his family and furniture for his house at Eparre. This being quickly known from the Indians at the fort, and great inconvenience being apprehended from the displeasure of this man, who upon all occasions had been particularly useful, Mr. Banks determined to follow him without delay, and solicit his return : he set out the same evening, accompanied by Mr. Mollineux, and found him sitting in the middle of a large circle of people, to whom he had probably related what had happened, and his fears of the consequences ; he was himself the very picture of grief and dejection, and the same passions were strongly marked in the countenances of all the people that surrounded him. When Mr. Banks and Mr. Mollineux went into the circle, one of the women expressed her trouble, as Terapo had done upon another occasion, and struck a shark's tooth into her head several times, till it was covered with blood. Mr. Banks lost no time in putting an end to this universal distress ; he assured the chief, that every thing which had passed should be forgotten, that there was not the least animosity remaining on one side, nor any thing to be feared on the other. The chief was soon soothed into confidence and complacency, a double canoe was ordered to be got ready, they all returned together to the fort before supper, and as a pledge of perfect reconciliation, both he and his wife slept all night in Mr. Banks's tent : their presence, however, was no palladium ; for, between

eleven and twelve o'clock, one of the natives attempted to get into the fort by scaling the walls, with a design, no doubt, to steal whatever he should happen to find ; he was discovered by the centinel, who happily did not fire, and he ran away much faster than any of our people could follow him. The iron, and iron-tools, which were in continual use at the armourer's forge, that was set up within the works, were temptations to theft which none of these people could withstand.

On the 14th, which was Sunday, I directed that divine service should be performed at the fort : we were desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present, but when the hour came, most of them were returned home. Mr. Banks, however, crossed the river, and brought back Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some enquiries on their part, and some instruction on ours : having seated them, he placed himself between them, and during the whole service, they very attentively observed his behaviour, and very exactly imitated it ; standing, sitting, or kneeling, as they saw him do : they were conscious that we were employed about somewhat serious and important, as appeared by their calling to the Indians without the fort to be silent ; yet when the service was over, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any attempt that was made to explain what had been done.

Such were our matins ; our Indians thought fit to perform vespers of a very different kind. A young man, near six feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little girl about eleven or twelve years of age, before several of our people, and a great number of the natives, without the least sense of its being indecent or improper, but, as appeared, in perfect conformity to the custom of the place. Among the spectators were several women of superior rank, particularly Obeera, who may properly be said to have assisted at the ceremony ; for they gave instructions to the girl how



to perform her part, which young as she was, she did not seem much to stand in need of.

This incident is not mentioned as an object of idle curiosity, but as it deserves consideration in determining a question which has been long debated in philosophy; whether the shame attending certain actions, which are allowed on all sides to be in themselves innocent, is implanted in Nature, or superinduced by custom? If it has its origin in custom, it will, perhaps, be found difficult to trace that custom, however general, to its source; if in instinct, it will be equally difficult to discover from what cause it is subdued or at least over-ruled among these people, in whose manners not the least trace of it is to be found.

On the 14th and 15th, we had another opportunity of observing the general knowledge which these people had of any design that was formed among them. In the night between the 13th and 14th, one of the water-casks was stolen from the outside of the fort: in the morning, there was not an Indian to be seen who did not know that it was gone; yet they appeared not to have been trusted, or not to have been worthy of trust; for they seemed all of them disposed to give intelligence where it might be found. Mr. Banks traced it to a part of the bay where he was told it had been put into a canoe, but as it was not of great consequence he did not complete the discovery. When he returned, he was told by Tubourai Tamaide, that another cask would be stolen before the morning: how he came by this knowledge it is not easy to imagine; that he was not a party in the design is certain, for he came with his wife and his family to the place where the water casks stood, and placing their beds near them, he said he would himself be a pledge for their safety, in despite of the thief: of this, however we would not admit; and making them understand that a sentry would be placed to watch the casks till the morning, he removed the beds into Mr. Banks's tent, where he and his family spent the



night, making signs to the sentry when he retired, that he should keep his eyes open. In the night this intelligence appeared to be true ; about twelve o'clock the thief came, but discovering that a watch had been set, he went away without his booty.

Mr. Banks's confidence in Tubourai Tamaide had greatly increased since the affair of the knife, in consequence of which he was at length exposed to temptations which neither his integrity nor his honour was able to resist. They had withstood many allurements, but were at length ensnared by the fascinating charms of a basket of nails ; these nails were much larger than any that had yet been brought into trade, and had, with perhaps some degree of criminal negligence, been left in a corner of Mr. Banks's tent, to which the chief had always free access. One of these nails Mr. Banks's servant happened to see in his possession, upon his having inadvertently thrown back that part of his garment under which it was concealed. Mr. Banks being told of this, and knowing that no such thing had been given him, either as a present or in barter, immediately examined the basket, and discovered, that out of seven nails five were missing. He then, though not without great reluctance, charged him with the fact, which he immediately confessed, and however he might suffer, was probably not more hurt than his accuser. A demand was immediately made of restitution ; but this he declined, saying, that the nails were at Eparre : however, Mr. Banks appearing to be much in earnest, and using some threatening signs, he thought fit to produce one of them. He was then taken to the fort, to receive such judgment as should be given against him by the general voice.

After some deliberation, that we might not appear to think too lightly of his offence, he was told, that if he would bring the other four nails to the fort it should be forgotten. To this condition he agreed ; but I am sorry to say he did not fulfil it. Instead of fetching the nails,

he removed with his family before night, and took all his furniture with him.

As our long-boat had appeared to be leaky, I thought it necessary to examine her bottom, and to my great surprise, found it so much eaten by the worms, that it was necessary to give her a new one ; no such accident had happened to the Dolphin's boats, as I was informed by the officers on board, and therefore it was a misfortune that I did not expect : I feared that the pinnace also might be nearly in the same condition : but, upon examining her, I had the satisfaction to find that not a worm had touched her, though she was built of the same wood, and had been as much in the water ; the reason of this difference I imagine to be, that the long boat was paid with varnish of pine, and the pinnace painted with white lead and oil ; the bottoms of all boats therefore which are sent into this country should be painted like that of the pinnace, and the ships should be supplied with a good stock, in order to give them a new coating when it should be found necessary.

Having received repeated messages from Tootahah, that if we would pay him a visit he would acknowledge the favour by a present of four hogs, I sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, to try if he could not procure the hogs upon easier terms, with orders to show him every civility in his power. Mr. Hicks found that he was removed from Eparre to a place called Tettahah, five miles farther to the westward. He was received with great cordiality ; one hog was immediately produced, and he was told that the other three, which were at some distance, should be brought in the morning. Mr. Hicks readily consented to stay ; but the morning came without the hogs, and it not being convenient to stay longer, he returned in the evening, with the one that he had got.

On the 25th, Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio made their appearance at the tent, for the first time

since he had been detected in stealing the nails; he seemed to be under some discontent and apprehension, yet he did not think fit to purchase our countenance and good-will by restoring the four which he had sent away. As Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen treated him with a coolness and reserve which did not at all tend to restore his peace or good-humour, his stay was short, and his departure abrupt. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, went the next morning in order to effect a reconciliation, by persuading him to bring down the nails, but he could not succeed.

---

### CHAP. XIII.

*Another visit to Tootahah, with various Adventures : Extraordinary amusements of the Indians, with Remarks upon it : Preparations to observe the Transit of Venus, and what happened in the mean time at the Fort.*

ON the 27th, it was determined that we should pay our visit to Tootahah, though we were not very confident that we should receive the hogs for our pains. I therefore set out early in the morning, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and three others in the pinnace. He was now removed from Tettahah, where Mr. Hicks had seen him, to a place called Atahourou, about six miles farther, and as we could not go above half way thither in the boat, it was almost evening before we arrived : we found him in his usual state, sitting under a tree, with a great crowd about him. We made our presents in due form, consisting of a yellow stuff petticoat, and some other trifling articles, which were graciously received ; a hog was immediately ordered to be killed and dressed for supper, with a promise of more in the

morning : however, as we were less desirous of feasting upon our journey than of carrying back with us provisions, which would be more welcome at the fort, we procured a reprieve for the hog, and supped upon the fruits of the country. As night now came on, and the place was crowded with many more than the houses and canoes would contain ; there being Oberea with her attendants, and many other travellers whom we knew, we began to look out for lodgings. Our party consisted of six : Mr. Banks thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea in her canoe, and wishing his friends a good night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country, and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise she said they would certainly be stolen. Mr. Banks having such a safe-guard resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity : but awaking about eleven o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and soon perceived that they were missing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who starting up, and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what he had lost : Tootahah himself slept in the next canoe, and being soon alarmed he came to them and set out with Oberea in search of the thief : Mr. Banks was not in a condition to go with them, for of his apparel scarce any thing was left him but his breeches ; his coat, and his waistcoat, with his pistols, powder-horn, and many other things that were in the pockets, were gone. In about half an hour his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes or of the thief. At first he began to be a little alarmed, his musquet had not indeed been taken away, but he had neglected to load it ; where I and Dr. Solander had disposed of ourselves he did not know ; and therefore, whatever might hap-

pen, he could not have recourse to us for assistance. He thought it best, however, to express neither fear nor suspicion of those about him, and giving his musquet to Tupia, who had been waked in the confusion and stood by him, with a charge not to suffer it to be stolen, he betook himself again to rest, declaring himself perfectly satisfied with the pains that Tootahah and Oberea had taken to recover his things, though they had not been successful. As it cannot be supposed that in such a situation his sleep was very sound, he soon after heard music, and saw lights at a little distance on shore: this was a concert or assembly, which they call a Heiva, a common name for every public exhibition; and as it would necessarily bring many people together, and there was a chance of my being among them with his other friends, he rose, and made the best of his way towards it: he was soon led by the lights and the sound to the hut where I lay, with three other gentlemen of our party; and easily distinguishing us from the rest, he made up to us more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story. We gave him such comfort as the unfortunate generally give to each other, by telling him that we were fellow-sufferers; I showed him that I was myself without stockings, they having been stolen from under my head, though I was sure I had never been asleep, and each of my associates convinced him, by his appearance, that he had lost a jacket. We determined, however, to hear out the concert, however deficient we might appear in our dress; it consisted of three drums, four flutes, and several voices: when this entertainment, which lasted about an hour, was over, we retired again to our sleeping-places; having agreed that nothing could be done toward the recovery of our things till the morning.

We rose at day-break, according to the custom of the country; the first man that Mr. Banks saw was Tupia, faithfully attending with his musquet; and soon after, Oberea brought him some of her country clothes, as a succedaneum for his own, so that when he came to



us he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English. Our party soon got together, except Dr. Solander, whose quarters we did not know, and who had not assisted at the concert: in a short time Tootahah made his appearance, and we pressed him to recover our clothes; but neither he nor Oberea could be persuaded to take any measure for that purpose, so that we began to suspect that they had been parties in the theft. About eight o'clock, we were joined by Dr. Solander, who had fallen into honester hands, at a house about a mile distant, and had lost nothing.

Having given up all hope of recovering our clothes, which indeed were never afterwards heard of, we spent all the morning in soliciting the hogs which we had been promised, but in this we had no better success: we therefore in no very good humour, set out for the boat about twelve o'clock, with only that which we had redeemed from the butcher and the cook the night before.

As we were returning to the boat however, we were entertained with a sight that in some measure compensated for our fatigue and disappointment. In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and consequently a high surf breaks upon the shore; a more dreadful one indeed I had seldom seen, it was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it, and if the best swimmer in Europe had by any accident been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones; yet, in the midst of these breakers, were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement; whenever a surf broke near them, they dived under it, and to all appearance with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the



spot ; they took this before them, and swam out with it as far as the outermost breach, then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach ; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side with the canoe in their hands : they then swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half an hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempted to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree : we then proceeded in our journey, and late in the evening got back to the fort.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that human nature is endued with powers which are only accidentally exerted to the utmost, and that all men are capable of what no man attains, except he is stimulated to the effort by some uncommon circumstances or situation. These Indians effected what to us appeared to be supernatural, merely by the application of such powers as they possessed in common with us, and all other men who have no particular infirmity or defect. The truth of the observation is also manifest from more familiar instances. The rope-dancer and balance-master owe their art, not to any peculiar liberality of nature, but to an accidental improvement of her common gifts ; and though equal diligence and application would not always produce equal excellence in these, any more than in other arts ; yet there is no doubt but that a certain degree of proficiency in them might be universally attained. Another proof of the existence of abilities in mankind, that are almost universally dormant, is furnished by the attainments of blind men. It cannot be supposed, that the loss

of one sense, like the amputation of a branch from a tree, gives new vigour to those that remain. Every man's hearing and touch, therefore are capable of the nice distinctions which astonish us in those that have lost their sight, and if they do not give the same intelligence to the mind, it is merely because the same intelligence is not required of them: he that can see may do from choice what the blind do by necessity, and by the same diligent attention to the other senses, may receive the same notices from them; let it therefore be remembered as an encouragement to persevering diligence, and a principle of general use to mankind, that he who does all he can, will ever effect much more than is generally thought to be possible.

Among other Indians that had visited us, there were some from a neighbouring island which they called Eimeo or Imao, the same to which Captain Wallis had given the name of the Duke of York's Island, and they gave us an account of no less than two and twenty islands that lay in the neighbourhood of Otaheite.

As the day of observation now approached, I determined in consequence of some hints which had been given me by Lord Morton, to send out two parties to observe the transit from other situations; hoping, that if we should fail at Otaheite, they might have better success. We were, therefore, now busily employed in preparing our instruments, and instructing such gentlemen in the use of them as I intended to send out.

On Thursday the 1st of June, the Saturday following being the day of the transit, I dispatched Mr. Gore in the long-boat to Imao, with Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Sporing, a gentleman belonging to Mr. Banks, Mr. Green having furnished them with proper instruments. Mr. Banks himself thought fit to go upon this expedition, and several natives, particularly Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio, were also of

the party. Very early on Friday morning, I sent Mr. Hicks, with Mr. Clerk, and Mr. Petersgill, the master's mate, and Mr. Saunders one of the midshipmen, in the pinnace to the eastward, with orders to fix on some convenient spot, at a distance from our principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose.

The long-boat not having been got ready till Thursday in the afternoon, though all possible expedition was used to fit her out ; the people on board, after having rowed most part of the night, brought her to a grappling just under the land of Imao. Soon after day-break, they saw an Indian canoe, which they hailed, and the people on board shewed them an inlet through the reef into which they pulled and soon fixed upon a coral rock, which rose out of the water about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore as a proper situation for their observatory : it was about eighty yards long and twenty broad, and in the middle of it was a bed of white sand, large enough for the tents to stand upon. Mr. Gore and his assistants immediately began to set them up, and make other necessary preparations for the important business of the next day. While this was doing, Mr. Banks with the Indians of Otaheite, and the people whom they had met in the canoe, went ashore upon the main island, to buy provisions ; of which he procured a sufficient supply before night. When he returned to the rock, he found the observatory in order ; and the telescopes all fixed and tried. The evening was very fine, yet their solicitude did not permit them to take much rest in the night : one or other of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky ; now encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears by an account that it was hazy.

At day-break they got up, and had the satisfac-

tion to see the sun-rise without a cloud. Mr. Banks then wishing the observers, Mr. Gore and Mr. Monkhouse, success, repaired again to the island, where he might examine its produce, and get a fresh supply of provisions: he began by trading with the natives, for which purpose he took his station under a tree, and to keep them from pressing upon him in a crowd, he drew a circle round him, which he suffered none of them to enter.

About eight o'clock, he saw two canoes coming towards the place, and was given to understand by the people about him, that they belonged to Tarrao, the king of the island, who was coming to make him a visit. As soon as the canoes came near the shore the people made a lane from the beach to the trading place, and his majesty landed with his sister, whose name was Nuna; as they advanced towards the tree where Mr. Banks stood, he went out to meet them, and with great formality introduced them into the circle from which the other natives had been excluded. As it is the custom of these people to sit during all their conferences, Mr. Banks unwrapped a kind of turban of Indian cloth, which he wore upon his head instead of a hat, and spreading it upon the ground, they all sat down upon it together. The royal present was then brought, which consisted of a hog and a dog, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts and other articles of the like kind. Mr. Banks then dispatched a canoe to the observatory for his present, and the messengers soon returned with an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his majesty, and received with great satisfaction.

By this time Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio joined them from the observatory. Tomio said, that she was related to Tarrao, and brought him a present of a long nail, at the same time complimenting Nuna with a shirt.

The first internal contact of the planet with the sun being over, Mr. Banks returned to the observa-

tory, taking Tarrao, Nuna, and some of their principal attendants, among whom were three very handsome young women, with him ; he showed them the planet upon the sun, and endeavoured to make them understand that he and his companions had come from their own country on purpose to see it. Soon after Mr. Banks returned with them to the island, where he spent the rest of the day in examining its produce, which he found to be much the same with that of Otaheite. The people whom he saw there also exactly resembled the inhabitants of that island, and many of them were persons whom he had seen upon it ; so that all those whom he had dealt with, knew of what his trading articles consisted, and the value they bore.

The next morning having struck the tents, they set out on their return, and arrived at the fort before night.

The observation was made with equal success by the persons whom I had sent to the eastward, and at the fort, there not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun ; the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr. Green, Dr. Solander and myself : Mr. Green's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, but that of Dr. Solander was greater. We all saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud round the body of the planet which very much disturbed the times of contact, especially of the internal ones ; and we differed from each other in our accounts of the times of the contacts much more than might have been expected. According to Mr. Green,

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The first external contact, or first appearance of				
- Venus, on the Sun, was	-	9	25	42
The first internal contact, or total immersion, was	9	44	4	} Morning.
The second internal contact, or beginning of the				
emersion,	-	3	14	8
The second external contact, or total emersion	3	32	10	} Afternoon.



The latitude of the observatory was found to be  $17^{\circ} 29' 15''$ ; and the longitude  $149^{\circ} 32' 30''$  W. of Greenwich. A more particular account will appear by the tables, for which the reader is referred to the Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. lxi. part 2. page 397 & seq. where they are illustrated by a cut.

But if we had reason to congratulate ourselves upon the success of our observation, we had scarce less cause to regret the diligence with which that time had been improved by some of our people to another purpose. While the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, some of the ship's company broke into one of the store-rooms, and stole a quantity of spike nails, amounting to no less than one hundred weight; this was a matter of public and serious concern, for these nails, if circulated by the people among the Indians, would do us irreparable injury, by reducing the value of iron, our staple commodity. One of the thieves was detected, but only seven nails were found in his custody. He was punished with two dozen lashes, but would impeach none of his accomplices.

---

## CHAP. XIV.

*The Ceremonies of an Indian Funeral, particularly described; General Observations on the Subject; A Character found among the Indians to which the Ancients paid great Veneration: A Robbery at the Fort, and its Consequences: with a Specimen of Indian Cookery, and various Incidents.*

ON the 5th we kept his Majesty's birth-day; for though it is the 4th, we were unwilling to celebrate

it during the absence of the two parties who had been sent out to observe the transit. We had several of the Indian chiefs at our entertainment, who drank his majesty's health by the name of Kihlargo, which was the nearest imitation they could produce of King George.

About this time died an old woman of some rank, who was related to Tomio, which gave us an opportunity to see how they disposed of the body, and confirmed us in our opinion, that these people, contrary to the present custom of all other nations now known, never bury their dead. In the middle of a small square, neatly railed in with bamboo, the awning of a canoe was raised upon two posts, and under this the body was deposited upon such a frame as has before been described: it was covered with fine cloth, and near it was placed bread-fruit, fish, and other provisions; we supposed that the food was placed there for the spirit of the deceased, and consequently that these Indians had some confused notion of a separate state; but upon our applying for further information to Tubourai Tamaide, he told us, that the food was placed there as an offering to their gods. They do not, however, suppose that the gods eat, any more than the Jews supposed that Jehovah could dwell in a house; the offering is made here upon the same principle as the temple was built at Jerusalem, as an expression of reverence and gratitude, and a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the deity. In the front of the area was a kind of stile, where the relations of the deceased stood to pay the tribute of their sorrow; and under the awning were innumerable small pieces of cloth, on which the tears and blood of the mourners had been shed; for in their paroxysms of grief it is a universal custom to wound themselves with the shark's tooth. Within a few yards two occasional houses were set up, in one of which some relations of the deceased constantly resided, and in the other

the chief mourner; who is always a man, and who keeps there a very singular dress in which a ceremony is performed that will be described in its turn. Near the place where the dead are thus set up to rot, the bones are afterwards buried.

What can have introduced among these people the custom of exposing their dead above ground, till the flesh is consumed by putrefaction, and then burying the bones, it is perhaps impossible to guess; but it is remarkable, that Ælian and Apollonius Rhodius impute a similar practice to the ancient inhabitants of Colchis, a country near Pontus in Asia, now called Mingrelia; except that among them this manner of disposing of the dead did not extend to both sexes; the women they buried, but the men they wrapped in a hide, and hung up in the air by a chain. This practice among the Colchians is referred to a religious cause. The principal objects of their worship were the earth and the air, and it is supposed that in consequence of some superstitious notion, they devoted their dead to both. Whether the natives of Otaheite, had any notion of the same kind, we were never able certainly to determine; but we soon discovered, that the repositories of their dead were also places of worship. Upon this occasion, it may be observed that nothing can be more absurd than the notion that the happiness or misery of a future life depends in any degree upon the disposition of the body when the state of probation is past; yet that nothing is more general than a solicitude about it. However cheap we may hold any funeral rites, which custom has not familiarized, or superstition rendered sacred, most men gravely deliberate how to prevent their body from being broken by the mattock and devoured by the worm, when it is no longer capable of sensation; and purchase a place for it in holy ground, when they believe the lot of its future existence to be irrevocably determined. So strong is the association of pleasing or

painful ideas with certain opinions and actions which affect us while we live, that we involuntarily act as if it was equally certain that they would affect us in the same manner when we are dead, though this is an opinion that nobody will maintain. Thus it happens that the desire of preserving from reproach even the name that we leave behind us, or of procuring it honour, is one of the most powerful principles of action, among the inhabitants of the most speculative and enlightened nations. Posthumous reputation upon every principle, must be acknowledged to have no influence upon the dead; yet the desire of obtaining and securing it, no force of reason, no habits of thinking can subdue, except in those whom habitual baseness and guilt have rendered indifferent to honour and shame while they lived. This indeed seems to be among the happy imperfections of our nature, upon which the general good of society in a certain measure depends; for as some crimes are supposed to be prevented by hanging the body of the criminal in chains after he is dead, so in consequence of the same association of ideas, much good is procured to society, and much evil prevented by a desire of preventing disgrace, or procuring honour to a name, when nothing but a name remains.

Perhaps no better use can be made of reading an account of manners altogether new, by which the follies and absurdities of mankind are taken out of that particular connection in which habit has reconciled them to us, than to consider in how many instances they are essentially the same. When an honest devotee of the church of Rome reads, that there are Indians on the banks of the Gauges, who believe that they shall secure the happiness of a future state by dying with a cow's tail in their hands, he laughs at their folly and superstition; and if these Indians were to be told, that there are people upon the continent of Europe, who imagine that they

shall derive the same advantage from dying with the slipper of a St. Francis upon their foot, they would laugh in their turn. But if, when the Indian heard the account of the Catholic, and the Catholic that of the Indian, each was to reflect, that there was no difference between the absurdity of the slipper and of the tail; but that the veil of prejudice and custom, which covered it in their own case, was withdrawn in the other, they would turn their knowledge to a profitable purpose.

Having observed that bread-fruit had for some days been brought in less quantities than usual, we enquired the reason; and were told that there being a great show of fruit upon the trees, they had been thinned all at once, in order to make a kind of sour paste, which the natives call *Mahie*, and which in consequence of having undergone a fermentation, will keep a considerable time, and supply them with food when no ripe fruit is to be had.

On the 10th, the ceremony was to be performed, in honour of the old woman whose sepulchral tabernacle has just been described, by the chief mourner; and Mr. Banks had so great a curiosity to see all the mysteries of the solemnity, that he determined to take a part in it, being told that he could be present upon no other condition. In the evening, therefore, he repaired to the place where the body lay, and was received by the daughter of the deceased, and several other persons, among whom was a boy about fourteen years old, who were to assist in the ceremony. Tubourai Tamaide was to be the principal mourner; and his dress, which was extremely fantastical though not unbecoming, is represented by a figure in one of the plates. Mr. Banks was stripped of his European clothes, and a small piece of cloth being tied round his middle, his body was smeared with charcoal and water, as low as the shoulders, till it was as black as that of a negroe: the same operation was performed upon several others,



among whom were some women, who were reduced to a state as near to nakedness as himself; the boy was blacked all over, and then the procession set forward. Tubourai Tamaide uttered something, which was supposed to be a prayer, near the body; and did the same when he came up to his own house; when this was done, the procession was continued towards the fort, permission having been obtained to approach it upon this occasion. It is the custom of the Indians to fly from these processions with the utmost precipitation, so that as soon as those who were about the fort, saw it at a distance, they hid themselves in the woods. It proceeded from the fort along the shore, and put to flight another body of Indians, consisting of more than an hundred, every one hiding himself under the first shelter that he could find; it then crossed the river, and entered the woods passing several houses, all which were deserted, and not a single Indian could be seen during the rest of the procession, which continued more than half an hour. The office that Mr. Banks performed, was called that of the *Nineveh*, of which there were two besides himself; and the natives having all disappeared, they came to the chief mourner, and said *imátata*, there are no people, after which the company was dismissed to wash themselves in the river, and put on their customary apparel.

On the 12th, complaint being made to me, by some of the natives, that two of the seamen had taken from them several bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, I examined the matter, and finding the charge well supported, I punished each of the criminals with two dozen lashes.

Their bows and arrows have not been mentioned before, nor were they often brought down to the fort. This day, however, Tubourai Tamaide brought down his, in consequence of a challenge which he had received from Mr. Gore. The chief supposed it was to try who could send the arrow farthest; Mr.

Gore who best could hit a mark : and as Mr. Gore did not value himself upon shooting to a great distance, nor the chief upon hitting a mark, there was no trial of skill between them. Tubourai Tamalde, however, to shew us what he could do, drew his bow, and sent an arrow, none of which are feathered, two hundred and seventy-four yards, which is something more than a seventh, and something less than a sixth part of a mile. Their manner of shooting is somewhat singular ; they kneel down, and the moment the arrow is discharged, drop the bow.

Mr. Banks in his morning walk this day, met a number of the natives whom upon enquiry, he found to be travelling musicians ; and having learnt where they were to be at night, we all repaired to the place. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums, and we found a great number of people assembled upon the occasion. The drummers accompanied the music with their voices, and to our great surprise, we discovered that we were generally the subject of the song. We did not expect to have found among the uncivilized inhabitants of this sequestered spot, a character which has been the subject of such praise and veneration where genius and knowledge have been most conspicuous ; yet these were the bards or minstrels of Otaheite. Their song was unpremeditated, and accompanied with music ; they were continually going about from place to place and they were rewarded by the master of the house, and the audience with such things as one wanted and the other could spare.

On the 14th, we were brought into new difficulties and inconvenience by another robbery at the fort. In the middle of the night, one of the natives contrived to steal an iron coal-rake, that was made use of for the oven. It happened to be set up against the inside of the wall, so that the top of the handle was visible from without ; and we were informed that the thief who had been seen lurking there in the

evening, came secretly about three o'clock in the morning, and watching his opportunity, when the centinel's back was turned, very dexterously laid hold of it with a long crooked stick, and drew it over the wall. I thought it of some consequence, if possible, to put an end to these practices at once, by doing something that should make it the common interest of the natives themselves, to prevent them. I had given strict orders that they should not be fired upon, even when detected in these attempts, for which I had many reasons: the common centinels were by no means fit to be entrusted with the power of life and death, to be exerted whenever they should think fit, and I had already experienced that they were ready to take away the lives that were in their power, upon the slightest occasion; neither indeed did I think that the thefts which these people committed against us, were in them, crimes worthy of death; that thieves are hanged in England, I thought no reason why they should be shot in Otaheite; because, with respect to the natives, it would have been an execution by a law *ex post facto*; they had no such law among themselves, and it did not appear to me that we had any right to make such a law for them. That they should abstain from theft, or be punished with death, was not one of the conditions under which they claimed the advantages of civil society, as it is among us; and as I was not willing to expose them to fire-arms loaded with shot, neither could I perfectly approve of firing only with powder; at first indeed the noise and the smoke would alarm them, but when they found that no mischief followed, they would be led to despise the weapons themselves, and proceed to insults which would make it necessary to put them to the test, and from which they would be deterred by the very sight of a gun, if it was never used but with effect. At this time an accident furnished me with what I thought a happy expedient. It happened that above

twenty of their sailing canoes were just come in with a supply of fish : upon these I immediately seized, and bringing them into the river, behind the fort, gave public notice, that except the rake, and all the rest of the things which from time to time had been stolen were returned, the canoes should be burnt. This menace I ventured to publish, though I had no design to put it into execution, making no doubt but that it was well known in whose possession the stolen goods were, and that as restitution was thus made a common cause, they would all of them in a short time be brought back. A list of the things was made out, consisting principally of the rake, the musquet which had been taken from the marine when the Indian was shot, the pistols which Mr. Banks lost with his clothes at Atahourou ; a sword belonging to one of the petty officers and a water cask. About noon the rake was restored, and great solicitation was made for the release of the canoes ; but I still insisted upon my original condition. The next day came, and nothing farther was restored, at which I was much surprised, for the people were in the utmost distress for the fish, which in a short time would be spoilt ; I was, therefore, reduced to a disagreeable situation, either of releasing the canoes, contrary to what I had solemnly and publicly declared, or to detain them to the great injury of those who were innocent, without answering any good purpose to ourselves ; as a temporary expedient, I permitted them to take the fish, but still detained the canoes. This very licence, however, was productive of new confusion and injury : for it not being easy at once to distinguish to what particular persons the several lots of fish belonged, the canoes were plundered under favour of this circumstance, by those who had no right to any part of their cargo. Most pressing instances were still made that the canoes might be restored, and I having now the greatest reason to believe, either that the things for which I detained

them were not in the island, or that those who suffered by their detention, had not sufficient influence over the thieves to prevail upon them to relinquish their booty, determined at length to give them up, not a little mortified at the bad success of my project.

Another accident also about this time was, notwithstanding all our caution, very near embroiling us with the Indians. I sent the boat on shore with an officer to get ballast for the ship, and not immediately finding stones convenient for the purpose, he began to pull down some part of an inclosure where they deposited the bones of their dead; this the Indians violently opposed, and a messenger came down to the tents to acquaint the officers that they would not suffer it. Mr. Banks immediately repaired to the place, and an amicable end was soon put to the dispute, by sending the boat's crew to the river, where stones enough were to be gathered, without a possibility of giving offence. It is very remarkable, that these Indians appeared to be much more jealous of what was done to the dead than the living. This was the only measure in which they ventured to oppose us, and the only insult that was offered to any individual among us was upon a similar occasion. Mr. Monkhouse happening one day to pull a flower from a tree which grew in one of their sepulchral inclosures, an Indian whose jealousy had probably been upon the watch, came suddenly behind him, and struck him: Mr. Monkhouse laid hold of him, but he was instantly rescued by two more, who took hold of Mr. Monkhouse's hair, and forced him to quit his hold of their companion, and then ran away without offering him any farther violence.

In the evening of the 19th, while the canoes were still detained, we received a visit from Oberea, which surprised us not a little, as she brought with her none of the things that had been stolen, and knew that she was suspected of having some of them in her custody. She said indeed, that her favourite



Obadée, whom she had beaten and dismissed had taken them away ; but she seemed conscious, that she had no right to be believed : she discovered the strongest signs of fear, yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution ; and was very pressing to sleep with her attendants in Mr. Banks's tent. In this, however, she was not gratified, the affair of the jacket was too recent, and the tent was besides filled with other people. No body else seemed willing to entertain her, and she therefore with great appearance of mortification and disappointment, spent the night in her canoe.

The next morning early, she returned to the fort, with her canoe, and every thing that it contained, putting herself wholly into our power, with something like greatness of mind, which excited our wonder and admiration. As the most effectual means to bring about a reconciliation, she presented us with a hog, and several other things, among which was a dog. We had lately learnt, that these animals were esteemed by the Indians as more delicate food than their pork ; and upon this occasion we determined to try the experiment ; the dog which was very fat, we consigned over to Tupia, who undertook to perform the double office of butcher and cook. He killed him by holding his hands close over his mouth and nose, an operation which continued above a quarter of an hour. While this was doing, a hole was made in the ground about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed in layers alternately with the wood to heat : the dog was then singed, by holding him over the fire, and by scraping him with a shell, the hair taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water ; he was then cut up with the same instrument, and his entrails being taken out were sent to the sea, where being carefully washed, they were put into cocoa-nut shells, with what blood had come from the body ; when the hole was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken out,

and some of the stones, which were not so hot as to discolour any thing that they touched, being placed at the bottom, were covered with green leaves: a dog with the entrails was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon them, the whole was covered with the rest of the hot stones, and the mouth of the hole close stopped with mould: in somewhat less than four hours it was again opened, and the dog taken out excellently baked, and we all agreed that he made a very good dish. The dogs which are here bred to be eaten, taste no animal food, but are kept wholly upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, and other vegetables of the like kind; all the flesh and fish eaten by the inhabitants is dressed in the same way.

On the 21st, we were visited at the fort by a chief, called Oamo, whom we had never seen before, and who was treated by the natives with uncommon respect; he brought with him a boy about seven years old, and a young woman about sixteen; the boy was carried upon a man's back, which we considered as a piece of state, for he was as well able to walk as any present. As soon as they were in sight, Oberca and several other natives, who were in the fort, went out to meet them, having first uncovered their heads and bodies as low as the waist, as they came on, the same ceremony was performed by all the natives who were without the fort. Uncovering the body, therefore, is in this country probably a mark of respect; and as all parts are here exposed with equal indifference, the ceremony of uncovering it from the waist downwards, which was performed by Oorattooa, might be nothing more than a different mode of compliment, adapted to persons of a different rank. The chief came into the tent, but no entreaty could prevail upon the young woman to follow him, though she seemed to refuse contrary to her inclination: the natives without were indeed all very solicitous to prevent her; sometimes,

when her resolution seemed to fail, almost using force : the boy also they restrained in the same manner ; but Dr. Solander happening to meet him at the gate, took him by the hand, and led him in before the people were aware of it ; as soon, however, as those that were within saw him, they took care to have him sent out.

These circumstances having strongly excited our curiosity, we enquired who they were, and were informed, that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, though they had been a long time separated by mutual consent ; and that the young woman and the boy were their children. We learnt also, that the boy, whose name was Terridiri, was heir apparent to the sovereignty of the island, and that his sister was intended for his wife, the marriage being deferred only till he should arrive at a proper age. The sovereign at this time was a son of Whappia, whose name was Outou, and who as before has been observed was a minor. Whappia, Oamo, and Tootahah were brothers ; Whappia was the eldest, and Oamo the second ; so that Whappia having no child but Outou, Terridiri, the son of his next brother Oamo, was heir to the sovereignty. It will perhaps seem strange that a boy should be sovereign during the life of his father ; but according to the custom of the country, a child succeeds to a father's title and authority as soon as it is born : a regent is then elected, and the father of the new sovereign is generally continued in his authority, under that title till his child is of age : but, at this time, the choice had fallen upon Toōtahah, the uncle, in consequence of his having distinguished himself in a war. Oamo asked many questions concerning England and its inhabitants, by which he appeared to have great shrewdness and understanding.

## CHAP. XV.

*An Account of the Circumnavigation of the Island, and various Incidents that happened during the Expedition ; with a Description of a Burying-place and Place of Worship, called a Morai.*

ON Monday the 26th, about three o'clock in the morning, I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to make the circuit of the island, with a view to sketch out the coast and harbours. We took our route to the eastward, and about eight in the forenoon we went on shore, in a district called Oahounue, which is governed by Ahio, a young chief, whom we had often seen at the tents, and who favoured us with his company to breakfast. Here also we found two other natives of our old acquaintance. Tituboalo and Hoona, who carried us to their houses, near which we saw the body of the old woman, at whose funeral rites Mr. Banks had assisted, and which had been removed hither from the spot where it was first deposited, this place having descended from her by inheritance to Hoona, and it being necessary on that account that it should lie here. We then proceeded on foot, the boat attending within call, to the harbour in which Mr. Bougainville lay, called Ohidea, where the natives shewed us the ground upon which his people pitched their tent, and the brook at which they watered, though no trace of them remained, except the holes where the poles of the tent had been fixed, and a small piece of potsbeard, which Mr. Banks found in looking narrowly about the spot. We met, however, with Orette, a chief who was their principal friend, and whose brother Outorrou went away with them.

This harbour lies on the west side of a great bay, under shelter of a small island called Boourou, near which is another called Taawirrii ; the breach in the reefs is here very large, but the shelter for the ships is not the best.

Soon after we had examined this place, we took boat, and asked Tituboalo to go with us to the other side of the bay ; but he refused, and advised us not to go, for he said the country there was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would kill both him and us. Upon receiving this intelligence, we did not, as may be imagined, relinquish our enterprize ; but we immediately loaded our pieces with ball : this was so well understood by Tituboalo as a precaution which rendered us formidable, that he now consented to be of our party.

Having rowed till it was dark, we reached a low neck of land, or isthmus, at the bottom of the bay, that divides the island into two peninsulas, each of which is a district or government wholly independent of the other. From Port Royal, where the ship was at anchor, the coast trends E. by S. and E. S. E. ten miles, then S. by E. and S. eleven miles to the isthmus. In the first direction, the shore is in general open to the sea : but in the last it is covered by reefs of rocks, which form several good harbours, with safe anchorage, in 16, 18, 20, and 24 fathom of water, with other conveniences. As we had not yet got into our enemy's country, we determined to sleep on shore : we landed, and though we found but few houses, we saw several double canoes whose owners were well known to us, and who provided us with supper and lodging : of which Mr. Banks was indebted for his share to Ooratooa, the lady who had paid him her compliments in so singular a manner at the fort.

In the morning, we looked about the country, and found it to be a marshy flat, about two miles over, across which the natives haul their canoes to the cor-



responding bay on the other side. We then prepared to continue our rout for what Tituboalo called the other kingdom; he said that the name of it was Tiarrabon, or Otaheite Ete; and that of the chief who governed it, Waheatua: upon this occasion also, we learnt that the name of the peninsula where we had taken our station was Opoureonu, or Otaheite Nuc. Our new associate seemed to be now better in spirits than he had been the day before; the people in Tiarrabon would not kill us, he said, but he assured us that we should be able to procure no victuals among them; and indeed we had seen no bread-fruit since we set out.

After rowing a few miles, we landed in a district, which was the dominion of a chief called Maraitata, the burying-place of men, whose father's name was Pahairedo, the stealer of boats. Though these names seemed to favour the account that had been given by Tituboalo, we soon found that it was not true. Both the father and the son received us with the greatest civility, gave us provisions, and, after some delay, sold us a very large hog for a hatchet. A crowd soon gathered round us, but we saw only two people that we knew; neither did we observe a single bead or ornament among them that had come from our ship, though we saw several things which had been brought from Europe. In one of the houses lay two twelve-pound shot, one of which was marked with the broad arrow of England, though the people said they had them from the ships that lay in Bougainville's harbour.

We proceeded on foot till we came to the district which was immediately under the government of the principal chief, or king of the peninsula, Waheatua. Waheatua had a son, but whether, according to the custom of Opoureonu, he administered the government as regent, or in his own right is uncertain. This district consists of a large and fertile plain, watered by a river so wide, that we were obliged to

ferry over it in a canoe ; our Indian train, however, chose to swim, and took to the water with the same facility as a pack of hounds. In this place we saw no house that appeared to be inhabited, but the ruins of many, that had been very large. We proceeded along the shore, which forms a bay, called Oaitipeba, and at last we found the chief sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept. He was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a comely woman, about five and twenty years old, whose name was Toudidde. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the Oberea of this pêninsula. From this place, between which and the isthmus there are other harbours, formed by the reefs that lay along the shore, where shipping may lie in perfect security, and from whence the land trends S. S. E. and S. to the S. E. part of the island, we were accompanied by Tearee, the son of Waheatua, of whom we had purchased a hog, and the country we passed through appeared to be more cultivated than any we had seen in other parts of the island : the brooks were every where banked into narrow channels with stone, and the shore had also a facing of stone, where it was washed by the sea. The houses were neither large nor numerous, but the canoes that were hauled up along the shore were almost innumerable, and superior to any that we had seen before, both in size and make ; they were longer, the sterns were higher, and the awnings were supported by pillars. At almost every point there was a sepulchral building, and there were many of them also in land. They were of the same figure as those in Opourconu, but they were cleauer and better kept, and decorated with many carved boards, which were set upright, and on the top of which were various figures of birds and men : on one in particular, there was the representation of a cock, which was painted red and yellow, to imitate the feathers of that animal,

and rude images of men were, in some of them, placed one upon the head of another. But in this part of the country, however fertile and cultivated, we did not see a single bread-fruit ; the trees were entirely bare, and the inhabitants seemed to subsist principally upon nuts which are not unlike a chesnut, and which they call *ahee*.

When we had walked till we were weary, we called up the boat, but both our Indians, Tituboalo and Tuahow, were missing : they had, it seems, stayed behind at Waheatua's, expecting us to return thither, in consequence of a promise which had been extorted from us, and which we had it not in our power to fulfil.

Tearee, however, and another, embarked with us, and we proceeded till we came a-breast of a small island called Otooareite ; it being then dark, we determined to land, and our Indians conducted us to a place where they said we might sleep : it was a deserted house, and near it was a little cove, in which the boat might lie with great safety and convenience. We were, however, in want of provisions, having been very sparingly supplied since we set out ; and Mr. Banks immediately went into the woods to see whether any could be procured. As it was dark, he met with no people, and could find but one house that was inhabited : a bread-fruit and a half, a few *ahees*, and some fire, were all that it afforded ; upon which with a duck or two, and a few curlicus, we made our supper, which, if not scanty, was disagreeable, by the want of bread, with which we had neglected to furnish ourselves, as we depended upon meeting with bread-fruit, and took up our lodging under the awning of a canoe belonging to Tearee, which followed us.

The next morning, after having spent some time in another fruitless attempt to procure a supply of provisions, we proceeded round the south east point, part of which is not covered by any reef, but lies open to

the sea ; and here the hill rises directly from the shore. At the southermost part of the island, the shore is again covered by a reef, which forms a good harbour ; and the land about it is very fertile. We made this rout partly on foot and partly in the boat : when we had walked about three miles, we arrived at a place where we saw several large canoes, and a number of people with them, whom we were agreably surprised to find were of our intimate acquaintance. Here, with much difficulty, we procured some cocoa-nuts, and then embarked, taking with us Tuahow, one of the Indians who had waited for us at Waheatua's, and had returned the night before, long after it was dark.

When we came abreast of the south east-end of the island, we went ashore, by the advice of our Indian guide, who told us that the country was rich and good. The chief, whose name was Mathiabo, soon came down to us but seemed to be a total stranger both to us and to our trade : his subjects, however, brought us plenty of cocoa-nuts, and about twenty bread-fruit. The bread-fruit we bought at a very dear rate, but his excellency sold us a pig for a glass bottle, which he preferred to every thing else that we could give him. We found in his possession a goose and a turkey-cock. which we were informed, had been left upon the island by the Dolphin : they were both enormously fat, and so tame that they followed the Indians, who were fond of them to excess, wherever they went.

In a long house in this neighbourhood, we saw what was altogether new to us. At one end of it, fastened to a semicircular board, hung fifteen human jaw-bones ; they appeared to be fresh, and there was not one of them that wanted a single tooth. A sight so extraordinary, strongly excited our curiosity, and we made many enquiries about it : but at this time could get no information, for the people either could not, or would not understand us.

When we left this place, the chief, Mathiabo, desired leave to accompany us, which was readily granted. He continued with us the remainder of the day, and proved very useful, by piloting us over the shoals. In the evening, we opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east, so as at the isthmus, or carrying-place, almost to intersect on the island, as I have observed before; and when we had coasted about two-thirds of it, we determined to go on shore for the night. We saw a large house at some distance, which Mathiabo informed us, belonging to one of his friends; and soon after several canoes came off to meet us, having on board some very handsome women, who, by their behaviour seemed to have been sent to entice us on shore. As we had before resolved to take up our residence here for the night, little invitation was necessary. We found that the house belonged to the chief of the district, whose name was Wiverou: he received us in a very friendly manner and ordered his people to assist us in dressing our provision, of which we had now got a tolerable stock. When our supper was ready, we were conducted into that part of the house where Wiverou was sitting, in order to eat it; Mathiabo supped with us, and Wiverou calling for his supper at the same time, we eat our meal very sociably, and with great good-humour. When it was over, we began to enquire where we were to sleep, and a part of the house was shewn us, of which we were told we might take possession for that purpose. We then sent for our cloaks, and Mr. Banks began to undress, as his custom was, and with a precaution which he had been taught by the loss of the jackets at Atahourou, sent his cloathes aboard the boat, proposing to cover himself with a piece of Indian cloth. When Mathiabo perceived what he was doing, he also pretended to want a cloak; and, as he had behaved very well, and done us some service, a cloak was ordered for him. We lay down, and observed that Mathiabo was not with us; but



we supposed that he was gone to bathe, as the Indians do before they sleep. We had not waited long, however, when an Indian, who was a stranger to us, came and told Mr. Banks, that the cloak and Mathiabo had disappeared together. This man had so far gained our confidence, that we did not at first believe the report; but it being soon after confirmed by 'Tuahow, our own Indian, we knew no time was to be lost. As it was impossible for us to pursue the thief with any hope of success, without the assistance of the people about us, Mr. Banks started up and telling our case, required them to recover the cloak; and to enforce his requisition, shewed one of his pocket pistols, which he always kept about him. Upon the sight of the pistol, the whole company took the alarm, and, instead of assisting to catch the thief, or recover what had been stolen, began with great precipitation to leave the place; one of them, however, was seized, upon which he immediately offered to direct the chase: I set out therefore with Mr. Banks, and though we ran all the way, the alarm had got before us, for in about ten minutes we met a man bringing back the cloak, which the thief had relinquished in great terror; and as we did not then think fit to continue the pursuit, he made his escape. When we returned, we found the house, in which there had been between two and three hundred people, entirely deserted. It being, however, soon known that we had no resentment against any body but Mathiabo, the chief Wiverou, our host, with his wife and many others, returned, and took up their lodging with us for the night. In this place, however, we were destined to more confusion and trouble, for about five o'clock in the morning our sentry alarmed us with an account that the boat was missing: he had seen her, he said, about half an hour before at her grappling, which was not above fifty yards from the shore; but upon hearing the sound of oars, he had looked out again, and could see nothing of her. At this account we started up greatly alarmed, and ran to the water

side : the morning was clear and star light, so that we could see to a considerable distance, but there was no appearance of the boat. Our situation was now such as might justify the most terrifying apprehensions, as it was a dead calm, and we could not therefore suppose her to have broken from her grappling, we had great reason to fear that the Indians had attacked her, and finding the people asleep, had succeeded in their enterprise: we were but four, with only one musquet and two pocket pistols, without a spare ball or charge of powder for either. In this state of anxiety and distress we remained a considerable time, expecting the Indians every moment to improve their advantage, when, to our unspeakable satisfaction, we saw the boat return, which had been driven from her grappling by the tide; a circumstance to which, in our confusion and surprise, we did not advert.

As soon as the boat returned, we got our breakfast, and were impatient to leave the place, lest some other vexatious accident should befall us. It is situated on the north side of Tiarrabou, the south east peninsula, or division, of the island, and at the distance of about five miles south east from the isthmus, having a large and commodious harbour, inferior to none in the island, about which the land is very rich in produce. Notwithstanding we had had little communication with this division, the inhabitants every where received us in a friendly manner; we found the whole of it fertile and populous, and, to all appearance, in a more flourishing state than Opoureonu, though it is not above one fourth part as large.

The next district in which we landed, was the last in Tiarrabou, and governed by a chief, whose name we understood to be Omoe. Omoe was building a house, and being therefore very desirous of procuring a hatchet, he would have been glad to have purchased one with any thing that he had in his possession; it happened, however, rather unfortunately for him and us, that we had not one hatchet left in the boat. We offered to

trade with nails, but he would not part with any thing in exchange for them ; we therefore reembarked, and put off our boat, but the chief being unwilling to relinquish all hope of obtaining something from us that would be of use to him, embarked in a canoe, with his wife Whanno-ouda, and followed us. After some time, we took them into the boat, and when we had rowed about a league they desired we would put ashore : we immediately complied with his request, and found some of his people who had brought down a very large hog. We were as unwilling to lose the hog, as the chief was to part with us, and it was indeed worth the best axe we had in the ship ; we therefore hit upon an expedient, and told him, that if he would bring his hog to the fort at Matavai, the Indian name for Port Royal bay, he should have a large axe, and a nail into the bargain, for his trouble. To this proposal, after having consulted with his wife, he agreed, and gave us a large piece of his country cloth as a pledge that he would perform his agreement, which, however, he never did.

At this place we saw a very singular curiosity : it was the figure of a man, constructed of basket work rudely made, but not ill-designed ; it was something more than seven feet high, and rather too bulky in proportion to its height. The wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, which were white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head, where there was to be a representation of hair : upon the head also were four protuberances, three in front and one behind, which we should have called horns, but which the Indians dignified with the name of Tate Ete, little men. The image was called Manioe, and was said to be the only one of the kind in Otaheite. They attempted to give us an explanation of its use and design, but we had not then acquired enough of their language to understand them. We learnt, however,

afterwards, that it was a representation of Mauwe, one of their Eatuas, or gods of the second class.

After having settled our affairs with Omoe, we proceeded on our return, and soon reached Opoureonu, the north-west peninsula. After rowing a few miles, we went on shore again, but the only thing we saw worth notice, was a repository for the dead, uncommonly decorated: the pavement was extremely neat, and upon it was raised a pyramid, about five feet high, which was entirely covered with the fruits of two plants peculiar to the country. Near the pyramid was a small image of stone, of very rude workmanship, and the first instance of carving in stone that we had seen among these people. They appeared to set a high value upon it, for it was covered from the weather by a shed that had been erected on purpose.

We proceeded in the boat, and passed through the only harbour, on the south side of Opoureonu, that is fit for shipping. It is situated about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands that lie near the shore, and about a mile distant from each other, and affords good anchorage in eleven and twelve fathom water. We were now not far from the district called Paparra, which belonged to our friends Oamo and Oberea, where we proposed to sleep. We went on shore about an hour before night, and found that they were both absent, having left their habitations to pay us a visit at Matavai: this, however, did not alter our purpose, we took up our quarters at the house of Oberea, which, though small, was very neat, and at this time had no inhabitant but her father, who received us with looks that bid us welcome. Having taken possession, we were willing to improve the little day-light that was left us, and therefore walked out to a point, upon which we had seen, at a distance, trees that are here called *Etoa*, which generally distinguish the places where these people bury the bones of their dead: their name for such burying-grounds, which are also

places of worship, is Morai. We were soon struck with the sight of an enormous pile, which, we were told, was the Morai of Oamo and Oberea, and the principal piece of Indian architecture in the island. It was a pile of stone work, raised pyramidically, upon an oblong base, or square, two hundred and sixty-seven feet long, and eighty-seven wide. It was built like the small pyramidal mounts upon which we sometimes fix the pillar of a sun-dial, where each side is a flight of steps; the steps, however, at the sides, were broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated not in a square of the same figure with the base, but in a ridge, like the roof of a house: there were eleven of these steps, each of which was four feet high, so that the height of the pile was forty-four feet; each step was formed of one course of white coral stone, which was neatly squared and polished; the rest of the mass, for there was no hollow within, consisted of round pebbles, which, from the regularity of their figure, seemed to have been wrought. Some of the coral stones were very large; we measured one of them, and found it three feet and an half by two feet and an half. The foundation was of rock stones, which were also squared; and one of them measured four feet seven inches by two feet four. Such a structure, raised without the assistance of iron tools to shape the stones, or mortar to join them, struck us with astonishment: it seemed to be as compact and firm as it could have been made by any workman in Europe, except that the steps which range along its greatest length, are not perfectly strait, but sink in a kind of hollow in the middle, so that the whole surface, from end to end, is not a right line, but a curve. The quarry stones, as we saw no quarry in the neighbourhood, must have been brought from a considerable distance; and there is no method of conveyance here but by hand: the coral must also have been fished from under the water, where, though it may be found in plenty, it lies at a considerable depth, never less than three feet. Both the rock stone and the coral could be squared only by



tools made of the same substance, which must have been a work of incredible labour; but the polishing was more easily effected by means of the sharp coral sand, which is found every where upon the sea-shore in great abundance. In the middle of the top stood the image of a bird, carved in wood; and near it lay the broken one of a fish, carved in stone. The whole of this pyramid made part of one side of a spacious area or square nearly of equal sides, being three hundred and sixty feet by three hundred and fifty-four, which was walled in with stone, and paved with flat stones in its whole extent; though there were growing in it, notwithstanding the pavement, several of the trees which they call *Etoa*, and plantains. About an hundred yards to the west of this building, was another paved area or court, in which were several small stages raised on wooden pillars, about seven feet high, which are called by the Indians *Ewattas*, and seem to be a kind of altars, as upon these are placed provisions of all kinds as offerings to their gods; we have since seen whole hogs placed upon them, and we found here the skulls of above fifty, besides the skulls of a great number of dogs.

The principal object of ambition among these people is to have a magnificent Morai, and this was a striking memorial of the rank and power of Oberca. It has been remarked, that we did not find her invested with the same authority that she exercised when the Dolphin was at this place, and we now learnt the reason of it. Our way from her house to the Morai lay along the sea-side, and we observed every where under our feet a great number of human bones, chiefly ribs and vertebræ. Upon enquiring into the cause of so singular an appearance, we were told, that in the then last month of *Owarahew*, which answered to our December, 1768, about four or five months before our arrival, the people of Tiarrabou, the S. E. peninsula which we had just visited, made a descent at this place, and killed a great number of people, whose bones were those that we saw upon the shore: that, upon this occasion, Oberca, and Oamo,

who then administered the government for his son, had fled to the mountains ; and that the conquerors burnt all the houses, which were very large, and carried away the hogs and what other animals they found. We learnt also, that the turkey and goose, which we had seen when we were with Mathiabo, the stealer of cloaks, were among the spoils ; this accounted for their being found among people with whom the Dolphin had little or no communication ; and upon mentioning the jaw-bones, which we had seen hanging from a board in a long house, we were told, that they also had been carried away as trophies, the people here carrying away the jaw-bones of their enemies, as the Indians of North America do the scalps.

After having thus gratified our curiosity, we returned to our quarters, where we passed the night in perfect security and quiet. By the next evening we arrived at Atahourou, the residence of our friend Tootahah, where, the last time we passed the night under his protection, we had been obliged to leave the best part of our clothes behind us. This adventure, however, seemed now to be forgotten on both sides. Our friends received us with great pleasure, and gave us a good supper, and a good lodging, where we suffered neither loss nor disturbance.

The next day, Saturday, July the 1st, we got back to our fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the island, including both peninsulas, to be about thirty leagues. Upon our complaining of the want of bread-fruit, we were told, that the produce of the last season was nearly exhausted ; and that what was seen sprouting upon the trees, would not be fit to use in less than three months ; this accounted for our having been able to procure so little of it in our route.

While the bread-fruit is ripening upon the flats, the inhabitants are supplied in some measure from the trees which they have planted upon the hills to preserve a succession ; but the quantity is not sufficient to prevent scarcity : they live therefore upon the sour paste which

they call *Mahie*, upon wild plantains, and ahee-nuts, which at this time are in perfection. How it happened that the Dolphin, which was here at this season, found such plenty of bread-fruit upon the trees, I cannot tell, except the season in which they ripen varies.

At our return, our Indian friends crouded about us, and none of them came empty-handed. Though I had determined to restore the canoes which had been detained to their owners, it had not yet been done; but I now released them as they were applied for. Upon this occasion I could not but remark with concern, that these people were capable of practising petty frauds against each other, with a deliberate dishonesty, which gave me a much worse opinion of them than I had ever entertained from the robberies they committed under the strong temptation to which a sudden opportunity of enriching themselves with the inestimable metal and manufactures of Europe exposed them.

Among others who applied to me for the release of a canoe, was one Potattow, a man of some consequence well known to us all. I consented, supposing the vessel to be his own, or that he applied on the behalf of a friend: he went immediately to the beach, and took possession of one of the boats, which with the assistance of his people, he began to carry off. Upon this, however, it was eagerly claimed by the right owners, who, supported by the other Indians, clamorously reproached him for invading their property, and prepared to take the canoe from him by force. Upon this, he desired to be heard, and told them, that the canoe did, indeed, once belong to those who claimed it; but that I, having seized it as a forfeit, had sold it to him for a pig. This silenced the clamour, the owners, knowing that from my power there was no appeal, acquiesced; and Potattow would have carried off his prize, if the dispute had not fortunately been overheard by some of our people who reported it to me. I gave orders immediately that the Indians should be undeceived: upon which the right owners took possession of

their canoe, and Potattow was so conscious of his guilt, that neither he nor his wife, who was privy to his knavery, could look us in the face for some time afterwards.

---

## CHAP. XVI.

*An Expedition of Mr. Banks to trace the River ; Marks of ' subterraneous Fire : Preparations for leaving the Island. An Account of Tupia.*

ON the 3d, Mr. Banks set out early in the morning, with some Indian guides, to trace our river up the valley from which it issues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. For about six miles they met with houses, not far distant from each other, on each side of the river, and the valley was every where about four hundred yards wide from the foot of the hill on one side, to the foot of that on the other ; but they were now shewn a house which they were told was the last that they would see. When they came up to it, the master of it offered them refreshments of cocoa-nuts and other fruits, of which they accepted ; after a short stay, they walked forward for a considerable time ; in bad way it is not easy to compute distances, but they imagined that they had walked about six miles farther, following the course of the river, when they frequently passed under vaults, formed by fragments of the rock, in which they were told people who were benighted frequently passed the night. Soon after they found the river banked by steep rocks, from which a cascade, falling with great violence, formed a pool, so steep, that the Indians said they could not pass it. They seemed, indeed, not much to be acquainted with the valley beyond this place, their business lying chiefly upon the declivity of the rocks on each side, and the plains which extended on their summits, where they found plenty of a wild plantain,

which they called *vae*. The way up these rocks from the banks of the river was in every respect dreadful ; the sides were nearly perpendicular, and in some places one hundred feet high ; they were also rendered exceeding slippery by the water of innumerable springs which issued from the fissures on the surface : yet up these precipices a way was to be traced by a succession of long pieces of the bark of the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, which served as a rope for the climber to take hold of, and assisted him in scrambling from one ledge to another, though upon these ledges there was footing only for an Indian or a goat. One of these ropes was nearly thirty feet in length, and their guides offered to assist them in mounting this pass, but recommended another at a little distance lower down, as less difficult and dangerous. They took a view of this “ better way,” but found it so bad that they did not chuse to attempt it, as there was nothing at the top to reward their toil and hazard but a grove of the wild plantain or *Vae* tree, which they had often seen before.

During this excursion, Mr. Banks had an excellent opportunity to examine the rocks, which were almost every where naked, for minerals ; but he found not the least appearance of any. The stones every where, like those of Madeira, shewed manifest tokens of being burnt ; nor is there a single specimen of any stone, among all those that were collected in the island, upon which there are not manifest and indubitable marks of fire ; except perhaps some small pieces of the hatchet-stone, and even of that, other fragments were collected which are burnt almost to a pumice. Traces of fire are also manifest in the very clay upon the hills ; and it may, therefore, not unreasonably be supposed, that this, and the neighbouring islands, are either shattered remains of a continent, which some have supposed to be necessary in this part of the globe, to preserve an equilibrium of its parts, which were left behind when the rest sunk by the mining of a subterraneous fire, so as to give a passage to the sea over it ; or were torn from rocks,



which, from the creation of the world, had been the bed of the sea, and thrown up in heaps, to a height which the waters never reach. One or other of these suppositions will perhaps be thought the more probable, as the water does not gradually grow shallow as the shore is approached, and the islands are almost every where surrounded by reefs, which appear to be rude and broken, as some violent concussion would naturally leave the solid substance of the earth. It may also be remarked upon this occasion, that the most probable cause of earthquakes seem to be the sudden rushing in of water upon some vast mass of subterraneous fire, by the instantaneous rarefaction of which into vapour, the mine is sprung, and various substances, in all stages of vitrification, with shells, and other marine productions, that are now found fossil, and the strata that covered the furnace, are thrown up; while those parts of the land which were supported upon the broken shell give way, and sink into the gulph. With this theory the phænomena of all earthquakes seem to agree; pools of water are frequently left where land has subsided, and various substances, which manifestly appear to have suffered by the action of fire, are thrown up. It is indeed true, that fire cannot subsist without air; but this cannot be urged against there being fire below that part of the earth which forms the bed of the sea; because there may be innumerable fissures by which a communication between those parts and the external air may be kept up, even upon the highest mountains, and at the greatest distance from the sea-shore.

On the 4th, Mr. Banks employed himself in planting a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected at Rio de Janeiro. For these he prepared ground on each side of the fort, with as many varieties of soil as he could chuse; and there is little doubt but that they will succeed. He also gave liberally of these seeds to the Indians, and planted

many of them in the woods : some of the melon-seeds having been planted soon after our arrival, the natives shewed him several of the plants which appeared to be in the most flourishing condition, and were continually asking him for more.

We now began to prepare for our departure, by bending the sails and performing other necessary operations on board the ship, our water being already on board, and the provisions examined. In the mean time we had another visit from Oamo, Oberea, and their son and daughter ; the Indians expressing their respect by uncovering the upper parts of their body as they had done before. The daughter, whose name we understood to be Toimata, was very desirous to see the fort, but her father would by no means suffer her to come in. Tearee, the son of Waheatua, the sovereign of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, was also with us at this time ; and we received intelligence of the landing of another guest, whose company was neither expected nor desired : this was no other than the ingenious gentleman who contrived to steal our quadrant. We were told, that he intended to try his fortune again in the night ; but the Indians all offered very zealously to assist us against him, desiring that, for this purpose, they might be permitted to lie in the fort. This had so good an effect, that the thief relinquished his enterprise in despair.

On the 7th, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and pallisadoes of our little fortification, for fire-wood on board the ship ; and one of the Indians had dexterity enough to steal the staple and hook upon which the gate turned : he was immediately pursued, and after a chase of six miles, he appeared to have been passed, having concealed himself among some rushes in the brook ; the rushes were searched, and though the thief had escaped, a scraper was found which had been stolen from the ship sometime before ; and soon after our old friend Tabourai Tamaide brought us the staple.

On the 8th and 9th, we continued to dismantle our fort, and our friends still flocked about us ; some, I believe, sorry at the approach of our departure, and others desirous to make as much as they could of us while we staid.

We were in hopes that we should now leave the island, without giving or receiving any other offence ; but it unfortunately happened otherwise. Two foreign seamen having been out with my permission, one of them was robbed of his knife, and endeavouring to recover it, probably with circumstances of great provocation, the Indians attacked him and dangerously wounded him with a stone ; they wounded his companion also slightly in the head, and then fled into the mountains. As I should have been sorry to take any farther notice of the affair, I was not displeased that the offenders had escaped ; but I was immediately involved in a quarrel which I very much regretted, and which yet it was not possible to avoid.

In the middle of the night between the 8th and 9th, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibson, two of the marines, both young men, went privately from the fort, and in the morning were not to be found. As public notice had been given, that all hands were to go on board on the next day, and that the ship would sail on the morrow of that day or the day following, I began to fear that the absentees intended to stay behind. I knew that I could take no effectual steps to recover them, without endangering the harmony and good-will which at present subsisted among us ; and, therefore, determined to wait a day for the chance of their return.

On Monday morning the 10th, the marines, to my great concern, not being returned, an enquiry was made after them of the Indians, who frankly told us, that they did not intend to return, and had taken refuge in the mountains, where it was impossible for our people to find them. They were then requested to assist in the search, and after some deliberation, two

of them undertook to conduct such persons as I should think proper to send after them to the place of their retreat. As they were known to be without arms, I thought two would be sufficient, and accordingly dispatched a petty officer, and the corporal of the marines, with the Indian guides, to fetch them back. As the recovery of these men was a matter of great importance, as I had no time to lose, and as the Indians spoke doubtfully of their return, telling us that they had each of them taken a wife, and were become inhabitants of the country, it was intimated to several of the chiefs who were in the fort with their women, among whom were Tubourai Tamaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till our deserters were brought back. This precaution I thought the more necessary, as, by concealing them a few days, they might compel me to go without them; and I had the pleasure to observe, that they received the intimation with very little signs either of fear or discontent; assuring me that my people should be secured and sent back as soon as possible. While this was doing at the fort, I sent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ship, which he did, without alarming either him or his people. If the Indian guides proved faithful and in earnest, I had reason to expect the return of my people with the deserters before evening. Being disappointed, my suspicions increased; and night coming on, I thought it was not safe to let the people whom I had detained as hostages continue at the fort, and I therefore ordered Tubourai Tamaide, Oberea, and some others, to be taken on board the ship. This spread a general alarm, and several of them, especially the women, expressed their apprehensions with great emotion and many tears when they were put into the boat. I went on board with them, and Mr. Banks remained on shore, with some others whom I thought it of less consequence to secure.

About nine o'clock, Webb was brought back by

some of the natives, who declared, that Gibson, and the petty officer and corporal, would be detained till Tootahah should be set at liberty. The tables were now turned upon me ; but I had proceeded too far to retreat. I immediately dispatched Mr. Hicks in the long-boat, with a strong party of men, to rescue the prisoners, and told Tootahah that it behoved him to send some of his people with them, with orders to afford them effectual assistance, and to demand the release of my men in his name, for that I should expect him to answer for the contrary. He readily complied ; this party recovered my men without the least opposition ; and about seven o'clock in the morning, returned with them to the ship, though they had not been able to recover the arms which had been taken from them when they were seized : these, however, were brought on board in less than half an hour, and the chiefs were immediately set at liberty.

When I questioned the petty officer concerning what had happened on shore, he told me, that neither the natives who went with him, nor those whom they met in their way, would give them any intelligence of the deserters ; but, on the contrary, became very troublesome : that, as he was returning for further orders to the ship, he and his comrade were suddenly seized by a number of armed men, who having learnt that Tootahah was confined, had concealed themselves in a wood for that purpose, and who having taken them at a disadvantage, forced their weapons out of their hands, and declared, that they would detain them till their chief should be set at liberty. He said, however, that the Indians were not unanimous in this measure ; that some were for setting them at liberty, and others for detaining them : that an eager dispute ensued, and that from words they came to blows, but that the party for detaining them at length prevailed : that soon after, Webb and Gibson were brought in by a party of the natives, as prisoners, that they also might be secured as hostages for the chief ; but that it was after some



debate resolved to send Webb to inform me of their resolution, to assure me that his companions were safe, and direct me where I might send my answer. Thus it appears that whatever were the disadvantages of seizing the chiefs, I should never have recovered my men by any other method. When the chiefs were set on shore from the ship, those at the fort were also set at liberty, and, after staying with Mr. Banks about an hour, they all went away. Upon this occasion, as they had done upon another of the same kind, they expressed their joy by an undeserved liberality, strongly urging us to accept of four hogs. These we absolutely refused as a present, and they as absolutely refusing to be paid for them, the hogs did not change masters. Upon examining the deserters, we found that the account which the Indians had given of them was true: they had strongly attached themselves to two girls, and it was their intention to conceal themselves till the ship had sailed, and take up their residence upon the island. This night every thing was got off from the shore, and every body slept on board.

Among the natives who were almost constantly with us, was Tupia, whose name has been often mentioned in this narrative. He had been, as I have before observed, the first minister of Oberea, when she was in the height of her power: he was also the chief Tahowa or priest of the island, consequently well acquainted with the religion of the country, as well with respect to its ceremonies as principles. He had also great experience and knowledge in navigation, and was particularly acquainted with the number and situation of the neighbouring islands. This man had often expressed a desire to go with us, and on the 12th in the morning, having with the other natives left us the day before, he came on board, with a boy about thirteen years of age, his servant, and urged us to let him proceed with us on our voyage. To have such a person on board, was certainly desirable for many reasons; by learning his language, and teaching him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of

the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay among them could give us, I therefore gladly agreed to receive them on board. As we were prevented from sailing to-day, by having found it necessary to make new stocks to our small and best bower anchors, the old ones having been totally destroyed by the worms, Tupia said, he would go once more on shore, and make a signal for the boat to fetch him off in the evening. He went accordingly, and took with him a miniature picture of Mr. Banks's to shew his friends, and several little things to give them as parting presents.

After dinner, Mr. Banks being desirous to procure a drawing of the Morai belonging to Tootahah at Eparré, I attended him thither, accompanied by Dr. Solander, in the pinnace. As soon as we landed, many of our friends came to meet us, though some absented themselves in resentment of what had happened the day before. We immediately proceeded to Tootahah's house, where we were joined by Oberca, with several others who had not come out to meet us, and a perfect reconciliation was soon brought about; in consequence of which they promised to visit us early the next day, to take a last farewell of us, as we told them we should certainly set sail in the afternoon. At this place also we found Tupia, who returned with us and slept this night on board the ship for the first time.

On the next morning, Thursday the 13th of July, the ship was very early crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, which were filled with the natives of an inferior class. Between eleven and twelve we weighed anchor, and as soon as the ship was under sail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender: the people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a firmness and resolution

truly admirable: he wept indeed, but the effort that he made to conceal his tears, concurred, with them, to do him honour. He sent his last present, a shirt, by Otheothea, to Potomai, Tootahah's favourite mistress, and then went with Mr. Banks to the mast head, waving to the canoes as long as they continued in sight.

Thus we took leave of Otaheite, and its inhabitants, after a stay of just three months; for much the greater part of the time we lived together in the most cordial friendship, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. The accidental differences which now and then happened, could not be more sincerely regretted on their part than they were on ours: the principal causes were such as necessarily resulted from our situation and circumstances, in conjunction with the infirmities of human nature, from our not being able perfectly to understand each other, and from the disposition of the inhabitants to theft, which we could not at all times bear with or prevent. They had not, however, except in one instance, been attended with any fatal consequence; and to that accident were owing the measures that I took to prevent others of the same kind. I hoped indeed to have availed myself of the impression which had been made upon them by the lives that had been sacrificed in their contest with the Dolphin, so as that the intercourse between us should have been carried on wholly without bloodshed; and by this hope all my measures were directed during the whole of my continuance at the island, and I sincerely wish, that whoever shall next visit it, may be still more fortunate. Our traffic here was carried on with as much order as in the best regulated market in Europe. It was managed principally by Mr. Banks, who was indefatigable in procuring provision and refreshments while they were to be had; but during the latter part of our time they became scarce, partly by the increased consumption at the fort and ship, and partly by the coming on of the season in which cocoa-nuts and bread-

fruit fail. All kind of fruit we purchased for beads and nails, but no nails less than forty penny were current : after a very short time we could never get a pig of more than ten or twelve pounds, for less than a hatchet ; because, though these people set a high value upon spike nails, yet these being an article with which many people in the ship were provided, the women found a much more easy way of procuring them than by bringing down provisions.

The best articles for traffic here are axes, hatchets, spikes, large nails, looking-glasses, knives, and beads, for some of which, every thing that the natives have may be procured. They are indeed fond of fine linen cloth, both white and printed ; but an ax worth half a crown, will fetch more than a piece of cloth worth twenty shillings.

---

## CHAP. XVII.

*A particular Description of the Island ; its Produce and Inhabitants ; their Dress, Habitations, Food, domestic Life and Amusements.*

WE found the longitude of Port-Royal bay, in this island, as settled by Captain Wallis, who discovered it on the 9th of June 1767, to be within half a degree of the truth. We found Point Venus, the northern extremity of the island, and the eastern point of the bay, to lie in the longitude of  $149^{\circ} 13'$  this being the mean result of a great number of observations made upon the spot. The island is surrounded by a reef of coral rock, which forms several excellent bays and harbours, some of which have been particularly described, where there is room and depth of water for any number of the largest ships. Port-Royal bay, called

by the natives Matavai, which is not inferior to any in Otaheite, may easily be known by a very high mountain in the middle of the island, which bears due south from point Venus. To sail into it, either keep the west point of the reef that lies before point Venus, close on board, or give it a birth of near half a mile, in order to avoid a small shoal of coral rocks, on which there is but two fathom and an half of water. The best anchoring is on the eastern side of the bay, where there is sixteen and fourteen fathom upon an ooze bottom. The shore of the bay is a fine sandy beach, behind which runs a river of fresh water, so that any number of ships may water here without incommoding each other ; but the only wood for firing, upon the whole island, is that of fruit trees, which must be purchased of the natives, or all hope of living upon good terms with them given up. There are some harbours to the westward of this bay which have not been mentioned, but, as they are contiguous to it, and laid down in the plan, a description of them is unnecessary.

The face of the country, except that part of it which borders upon the sea, is very uneven ; it rises in ridges that run up into the middle of the island, and there form mountains, which may be seen at the distance of sixty miles : between the foot of these ridges and the sea, is a border of low land, surrounding the whole island, except in a few places where the ridges rise directly from the sea : the border of low land is in different parts of different breadths, but no where more than a mile and a half. The soil, except upon the very tops of the ridges, is extremely rich and fertile, watered by a great number of rivulets of excellent water, and covered with fruit trees of various kinds, some of which are of a stately growth and thick foliage, so as to form one continued wood ; and even the tops of the ridges, though in general they are bare, and burnt up by the sun, are, in some parts, not without their produce.

The low land that lies between the foot of the ridges



and the sea, and some of the vallies, are the only parts of the island that are inhabited, and here it is populous; the houses do not form villages or towns, but are ranged along the whole body at the distance of about fifty yards from each other, with little plantations of plantains, the tree which furnishes them with cloth. The whole island, according to Tupia's account, who certainly knew, could furnish six thousand seven hundred and eighty fighting men, from which the number of inhabitants may easily be computed.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas, of thirteen sorts, the best we had ever eaten; plantains; a fruit not unlike an apple, which, when ripe, is very pleasant; sweet potatoes, yams, cocoas, a kind of *arum*; a fruit known here by the name of *jambu*, and reckoned most delicious: sugar cane, which the inhabitants eat raw; a root of the salop kind, called by the inhabitants *pea*; a plant called *ethee*, of which the root only is eaten; a fruit that grows in a pod, like that of a large kidney-bean, which when it is roasted, eats very much like a chesnut, by the natives called *ahée*; a tree called *wharra*, called in the East Indies *pandanes*, which produces fruit, something like the pine-apple; a shrub called *nono*; the *morinda*, which also produces fruit; a species of fern, of which the root is eaten, and sometimes the leaves; and a plant called *there*, of which the root also is eaten: but the fruits of the *nono*, the fern, and the *there*, are eaten only by the inferior people, and in times of scarcity. All these, which serve the inhabitants for food, the earth produces spontaneously, or with so little culture, that they seem to be exempted from the first general curse, that "man should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow." They have also the Chinese paper mulberry, *morus papyrifera*, which they call *aouta*; a tree resembling the wild fig-tree of the West Indies; another species of fig, which they call *matte*; the *cordia sebastina orientalis*, which they call *etou*; a kind of cyperus grass, which they call *moo*; a species of *tour-*

*nesfortia*, which they call *takeinoo*; another of the *convolvulus poluce*, which they call *eurhe*; the *solanum centifolium*, which they call *ebooa*; the *calophyllum mophyllum*, which they call *tamannu*; the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, called *poerou*, a frutescent nettle; the *urtica argentea*; called *erowa*; with many other plants which cannot here be particularly mentioned; those that have been named already, will be referred to in the subsequent part of this work.

They have no European fruit, garden-stuff, pulse, or legumes, nor grain of any kind.

Of tame animals, they have only hogs, dogs, and poultry; neither is there a wild animal in the island, except ducks, pigeons, paroquets, with a few other birds, and rats, there being no other quadruped, nor any serpent. But the sea supplies them with great variety of most excellent fish, to eat which is their chief luxury, and to catch it their principal labour.

As to the people they are of the largest size of Europeans. The men are tall, strong, well-limbed, and finely shaped. The tallest that we saw was a man upon a neighbouring island, called Huaheine, who measured six feet three inches and an half. The women of the superior rank are also in general above our middle stature, but those of the inferior class are rather below it, and some of them are very small. This defect in size probably proceeds from their early commerce with men, the only thing in which they differ from their superiors, that could possibly affect their growth.

Their natural complexion is that kind of clear olive or *brunette*, which many people in Europe prefer to the finest white and red. In those that are exposed to the wind and sun, it is considerably deepened, but in others that live under shelter, especially the superior class of women, it continues of its native hue, and the skin is most delicately smooth and soft; they have no tint in their cheeks, which we distinguish by the name of colour. The shape of the face is comely, the cheek bones are not high, neither

are the eyes hollow, nor the brow prominent: the only feature that does not correspond with our ideas of beauty is the nose, which, in general, is somewhat flat; but their eyes, especially those of the women, are full of expression, sometimes sparkling with fire, and sometimes melting with softness; their teeth also, are, almost without exception, most beautifully even and white, and their breath perfectly without taint.

The hair is almost universally black, and rather coarse; the men have beards which they wear in many fashions, always, however, plucking out greater part of them, and keeping the rest perfectly clean and neat. Both sexes also eradicate every hair from under their arms, and accused us of great uncleanness for not doing the same. In their motions there is at once vigour and ease; their walk is graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions also, they seemed to be brave, open, and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge; so that we placed the same confidence in them as in our best friends, many of us, particularly Mr. Banks, sleeping frequently in their houses in the woods, without a companion, and consequently wholly in their power. They were, however, all thieves; and when that is allowed they need not much fear a competition with the people of any other nation upon earth. During our stay in this island we saw about five or six persons, like one that was met by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander on the 24th of April, in their walk to the eastward, whose skins were of a dead white, like the nose of a white horse; with white hair, beard, brows, and eye-lashes; red, tender eyes; a short sight, and scurfy skins, covered with a kind of white down; but we found that no two of these belonged to the same family, and therefore concluded, that they were not a species, but unhappy individuals, rendered anomalous by disease.

It is a custom in most countries where the inhabitants have long hair, for the men to cut it short and the women to pride themselves in its length. Here, how-

ever, the contrary customs prevails: the women always cut it short round the ears, and the men, except the fishers, who are almost continually in the water, suffer it to flow in large waves over their shoulders, or tie it up in a bunch on the top of their heads.

They have a custom also of anointing their heads, with what they call *Monoe*, an oil expressed from the cocoa-nut, in which some sweet herbs or flowers have been infused: as the oil is generally rancid, the smell is at first very disagreeable to an European; and as they live in a hot country, and have no such thing as a comb, they are not able to keep their heads free from lice, which the children and common people sometime pick out and eat: a hateful custom, wholly different from their manners in every other particular; for they are delicate and cleanly almost without example, and those to whom we distributed combs, soon delivered themselves from vermin, with a diligence which showed that they were not more odious to us than to them.

They have a custom of staining their bodies, nearly in the same manner as is practised in many other parts of the world, which they call *tattowing*. They prick the skin, so as just not to fetch blood, with a small instrument, something in the form of a hoe; that part which answers to the blade is made of a bone or shell, scraped very thin, and is from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half wide; the edge is cut into sharp teeth or points, from the number of three to twenty, according to its size: when this is to be used, they dip the teeth into a mixture of a kind of lamp-black, formed of the smoke that rises from an oily nut which they burn instead of candles, and water; the teeth thus prepared, are placed upon the skin, and the handle to which they are fastened being struck, by quick smart blows, with a stick fitted to the purpose, they pierce it, and at the same time carry into the puncture the black composition, which leaves an indelible stain. The operation is painful,

and it is some days before the wounds are healed. It is performed upon the youth of both sexes when they are about twelve or fourteen years of age, on several parts of the body, and in various figures, according to the fancy of the parent, or perhaps the rank of the party. The women are generally marked with this stain, in the form of a Z, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and frequently round the out-side of their feet: the men are also marked with the same figure, and both men and women have squares, circles, crescents, and ill-designed representations of men, birds, or dogs, and various other devices impressed upon their legs and arms, some of which we were told are significations, though we could never learn what they were. But the part on which these ornaments are lavished with the greatest profusion, is the breech: this, in both sexes, is covered with a deep black; above which, arches are drawn one over another as high as the short ribs. They are often a quarter of an inch broad and the edges are not straight lines, but indented. These arches are their pride, and are shewn both by men and women with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure; whether as an ornament, or a proof of their fortitude and resolution in bearing pain we could not determine. The face in general is left unmarked; for we saw but one instance to the contrary. Some old men had the greatest part of their bodies covered with large patches of black, deeply indented at the edges, like a rude imitation of flame; but we were told, that they came from a low island called Noouoora, and were not natives of Otaheite.

Mr. Banks saw the operation of *tattooing* performed upon the backside of a girl about thirteen years old. The instrument used upon this occasion had thirty teeth, and every stroke, of which at least a hundred were made in a minute, drew an ichor or serum a little tinged with blood. The girl bore it with most stoical resolution for about a quarter of an hour; but the pain of so many hundred punctures as



she had received in that time then became intolerable: she first complained in murmurs, then wept, and at last burst into loud lamentations, earnestly imploring the operator to desist. He was, however, inexorable; and when she began to struggle, she was held down by two women, who sometimes soothed and sometimes chid her, and now and then, when she was most unruly, gave her a smart blow. Mr. Banks staid in a neighbouring house an hour, and the operation was not over when he went away; yet it was performed but upon one side, the other having being done some time before; and the arches upon the loins, in which they most pride themselves, and which give more pain than all the rest, were still to be done.

It is strange that these people should value themselves upon what is no distinction; for I never saw a native of this island, either man or woman, in a state of maturity, in whom these marks were wanting: possibly they may have their rise in superstition, especially as they produce no visible advantage, and are not made without great pain; but though we enquired of many hundreds, we could never get any account of the matter.

Their clothing consists of cloth or-matting of different kinds, which will be described among their other manufactures. The cloth, which will not bear wetting, they wear in dry weather, and the matting when it rains; they are put on in many different ways, just as their fancy leads them; for in their garments nothing is cut into shape, nor are any two pieces sewed together. The dress of the better sort of women consists of three or four pieces: one piece, about two yards wide and eleven yards long, they wrap several times round their waist, so as to hang down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg, and this they call *parou*: two or three other pieces, about two yards and an half long and one wide, each having a hole cut in the middle, they place one upon another, and then putting the head through

the holes, they bring the long ends down before and behind ; the others remain open at the sides, and give liberty to the arms : this which they call the *tebuta*, is gathered round the waist, and confined with a girdle or sash of thinner cloth, which is long enough to go many times round them, and exactly resembles the garment worn by the inhabitants of Peru and Chili, which the Spaniards call *Poncho*. The dress of the men is the same, except that instead of suffering the cloth that is worn about the hips to hang down like a petticoat, they bring it between their legs so as to have some resemblance to breeches, and it is then called *Maro*. This is the dress of all ranks of people, and being universally the same as to form, the gentlemen and ladies distinguish themselves from the lower people by the quantity ; some of them will wrap round them several pieces of cloth, eight or ten yards long, and two or three broad : and some throw a large piece loosely over their shoulders in the manner of a cloak, or perhaps two pieces, if they are very great personages, and are desirous to appear in state. The inferior sort, who have only a small allowance of cloth from the tribes or families to which they belong, are obliged to be more thinly clad. In the heat of the day they appear almost naked, the women having only a scanty petticoat, and the men nothing but the sash that is passed between their legs and fastened round the waist. As finery is always troublesome, and particularly in a hot country, where it consists in putting one covering upon another, the women of rank always uncover themselves as low as the waist in the evening, throwing off all that they wear in the upper part of the body, with the same negligence and ease as our ladies would lay by a cardinal or double handkerchief. And the chiefs, even when they visited us, though they had as much cloth round the middle as could clothe a dozen people, had frequently the rest of the body quite naked.

Upon their legs and feet they wear no covering but

they shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, either of matting or of cocoa-nut leaves which they make occasionally in a few minutes. This, however, is not all their head-dress ; the women sometimes wear little turbans, and sometimes a dress which they value much more and which indeed is much more becoming, called *Tomou* ; the *Tomou* consists of human hair, plaited in threads, scarcely thicker than sewing silk. Mr. Banks has pieces of it above a mile in length, without a knot. These they wind round the head in such a manner as produces a very pretty effect, and in a very great quantity ; for I have seen five or six such pieces wound about the head of one woman ; among these threads they stick flowers of various kinds, particularly the cape-jessamine, of which they have great plenty, as it is always planted near their houses. The men sometimes stick the tail feather of the Tropic-bird upright in their hair, which as I have observed before, is often tied in a bunch upon the top of their heads ; sometimes they wear a kind of whimsical garland made of flowers of various kinds, stuck into a piece of the rind of a plantain ; or of scarlet peas, stuck with gum upon a piece of wood : and sometimes they wear a kind of wig, made of the hair of men or dogs, or perhaps of cocoa-nut strings, woven upon one thread, which is tied under their hair, so that these artificial honours of their head may hang down behind. Their personal ornaments, besides flowers, are few ; both sexes wear ear-rings, but they are placed only on one side : when we came they consisted of small pieces of shell, stone, berries, red peas, or some small pearls, three in a string ; but our beads very soon supplanted them all.

The children go quite naked ; the girls till they are three or four years old, and the boys till they are six or seven.

The houses, or rather dwellings of these people have been occasionally mentioned before : they are all built in the wood, between the sea and the mountains, and no more ground is cleared for each house, than just

sufficient to prevent the dropping of the branches from rotting the thatch with which they are covered ; from the house, therefore, the inhabitant steps immediately under the shade, which is the most delightful that can be imagined. It consists of groves of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, without underwood, which are intersected, in all directions, by the paths that lead from one house to the other. Nothing can be more grateful than this shade in so warm a climate, nor any thing more beautiful than these walks. As there is no underwood, the shade cools without impeding the air ; and the houses having no walls, receive the gales from whatever point it blows. I shall now give a particular description of a house of a middling size, from which, as the structure is universally the same, a perfect idea may be formed both of those that are bigger, and those that are less.

The ground which it covers is an oblong square, four and twenty feet long, and eleven wide ; over this a roof is raised, upon three rows of pillars or posts, parallel to each other, one on each side and the other in the middle. This roof consists of two flat sides inclining to each other, and terminating in a ridge, exactly like the roofs of our thatched houses in England. The utmost height within is about nine feet, and the eaves on each side reach to within about three feet and an half of the ground : below this, and through the whole height at each end, it is open, no part of it being inclosed with a wall. The roof is thatched with palm-leaves, and the floor is covered, some inches deep, with soft hay ; over this are laid mats, so that the whole is one cushion, upon which they sit in the day, and sleep in the night. In some houses, however, there is one stool, which is wholly appropriated to the master of the family ; besides this, they have no furniture, except a few little blocks of wood, the upper side of which is hollowed into a curve, and which serve them for pillows.

The house is indeed principally used as a dormitory ; or except it rains, they eat in the open air, under the

shade of the next tree. The clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night; the floor is the common bed of the whole household, and is not divided by any partition. The master of the house and his wife sleep in the middle, next to them the married people, next to them the unmarried women, and next to them, at a little distance, the unmarried men; the servants, or *Toutous*, as they are called, sleep in the open air, except it rains, and in that case they come just within the shed.

There are, however, houses of another kind, belonging to the chiefs, in which there is some degree of privacy. These are much smaller, and so constructed as to be carried about in their canoes from place to place, and set up occasionally, like a tent; they are inclosed on the sides with cocoa-nut leaves, but not so close as to exclude the air, and the chief and his wife sleep in them alone.

There are houses also of a much larger size, not built either for the accommodation of a single chief, or a single family: but as common receptacles for all the people of a district. Some of them are two hundred feet long, thirty broad, and, under the ridge, twenty feet high; these are built and maintained at the common expence of the district, for the accommodation of which they are intended; and have on one side of them a large area, inclosed with low pallisadoes.

These houses, like those of separate families, have no walls. Privacy, indeed, is little wanted among people who have not even the idea of indecency, and who gratify every appetite and passion before witnesses, with no more sense of impropriety than we feel when we satisfy our hunger at a social board with our family or friends. Those who have no idea of indecency with respect to actions, can have none with respect of words; it is, therefore, scarcely necessary to observe, that, in the conversation of these people, that which is the principal source of their pleasure, is always the principal to-



pic ; and that every thing is mentioned without any restraint or emotion, and in the most direct terms, by both sexes.

Of the food eaten here the greater part is vegetable. Here are no tame animals except hogs, dogs and poultry, as I have observed before, and these are by no means plenty. When a chief kills a hog, it is almost equally divided among his dependants ; and as they are very numerous, the share of each individual at these feasts, which are not frequent, must necessarily be small. Dogs and fowls fall somewhat more frequently to the share of the common people. . cannot much commend the flavour of their fowls ; but we all agreed, that a South-sea dog was little inferior to an English lamb ; their excellence is probably owing to their being kept up, and fed wholly upon vegetables. The sea affords them a great variety of fish. The smaller fish, when they catch any, are generally eaten raw, as we eat oysters ; and nothing that the sea produces comes amiss to them : they are fond of lobsters, crabs, and other shell-fish, which are found upon the coast ; and they will eat not only sea-insects, but what the seamen call *blubbers*, though some of them are so tough, that they are obliged to suffer them to become putrid before they can be chewed. Of the many vegetables that have been mentioned already as serving them for food, the principal is the bread-fruit, to procure which costs them no trouble or labour, but climbing a tree : the tree which produces it, does not indeed shoot up spontaneously : but if a man plants ten of them in his life time, which he may do in about an hour, he will as completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations, as the native of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold of winter, and reaping in the summer's heat, as often as these seasons return ; even if, after he has procured bread for his present household, he should convert a surplus into money, and lay it up for his children.

It is true, indeed, that the bread-fruit is not always

in season ; but cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, and a great variety of other fruit, supply the deficiency.

It may well be supposed, that cookery is but little studied by these people as an art ; and, indeed, they have but two ways of applying fire to dress their food, broiling and baking ; the operation of broiling is so simple that it requires no description, and their baking has been described already, (page 152.) in the account of an entertainment prepared for us by Tupia. Hogs, and large fish, are extremely well dressed in the same manner ; and, in our opinion, were more juicy and more equally done than by any art of cookery now practised in Europe. Bread-fruit is also cooked in an oven of the same kind, which renders it soft, and something like a boiled potatoe ; not quite so farinaceous as a good one, but more so than those of the middling sort.

Of the bread-fruit they also make three dishes, by putting either water or the milk of the cocoa-nut to it, then beating it to a paste with a stone pestle, and afterwards mixing it with ripe plantains, bananas, or the sour paste which they call *mahie*.

The *mahie*, which has been mentioned as a succedaneum for ripe bread-fruit, before the season for gathering a fresh crop comes on, is thus made :

The fruit is gathered just before it is perfectly ripe, and being laid in heaps, is closely covered with leaves ; in this state it undergoes a fermentation, and becomes disagreeably sweet : the core is then taken out entire, which is done by gently pulling the stalk, and the rest of the fruit is thrown into a hole which is dug for that purpose, generally in the houses, and neatly lined in the bottom and sides with grass ; the whole is then covered with leaves, and heavy stones laid upon them : in this state it undergoes a second fermentation, and becomes sour, after which it will suffer no change for many months : it is taken out of the hole as it is wanted for use, and being made into balls, it is wrapped up in leaves and baked ; after it is dressed, it will

keep five or six weeks. It is eaten both cold and hot, and the natives seldom make a meal without it, though to us the taste was as disagreeable as that of a pickled olive generally is the first time it is eaten.

As the making of this mahie depends, like brewing, upon fermentation, so, like brewing, it sometimes fails, without their being able to ascertain the cause; it is very natural, therefore, that the making it should be connected with superstitious notions and ceremonies. It generally falls to the lot of the old women, who will suffer no creature to touch any thing belonging to it, but those whom they employ as assistants, nor even to go into that part of the house where the operation is carrying on. Mr. Banks happened to spoil a large quantity of it only by inadvertently touching a leaf which lay upon it. The old woman, who then presided over these mysteries, told him, that the process would fail; and immediately uncovered the whole in a fit of vexation and despair. Mr. Banks regretted the mischief he had done, but was somewhat consoled by the opportunity which it gave him of examining the preparation, which perhaps, but for such an accident, would never have offered.

Such is their food, to which salt water is the universal sauce, no meal being eaten without it: those who live near the sea have it fetched as it is wanted; those who live at some distance keep it in large bamboos, which are set up in their houses, for use. Salt-water, however, is not their only sauce; they make another of the kernels of cocoa-nuts, which being fermented till they dissolve into a paste somewhat resembling butter, are beaten up with salt-water. The flavour of this is very strong, and was, when we first tasted it, exceedingly nauseous; a little use, however, reconciled some of our people to it so much, that they preferred it to our own sauces, especially with fish. The natives seemed to consider it as a dainty, and do not use it at their common meals; possibly, because they think it ill management to use cocoa-nuts so

lavishly, or perhaps, when we were at the island, they were scarcely ripe enough for the purpose.

For drink, they have in general nothing but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; the art of producing liquors that intoxicate, by fermentation, being happily unknown among them; neither have they any narcotic which they chew, as the natives of some other countries do opium, beetle-root, and tobacco. Some of them drank freely of our liquors, and in a few instances became very drunk; but the persons to whom this happened were so far from desiring to repeat the debauch, that they would never touch any of our liquors afterwards. We were however informed, that they became drunk by drinking a juice that is expressed from the leaves of a plant which they call *ava ava*. This plant was not in season when we were there, so that we saw no instances of its effects; and as they considered drunkenness as a disgrace, they probably would have concealed from us any instances which might have happened during our stay. This vice is almost peculiar to the chiefs, and considerable persons, who vie with each other in drinking the greatest number of draughts, each draught being about a pint. They keep this intoxicating juice with great care from their women.

Table they have none; but their apparatus for eating is set out with great neatness, though the articles are too simple and too few to allow any thing for show: and they commonly eat alone; but when a stranger happens to visit them he sometimes makes a second in their mess. Of the meal of one of their principal people I shall give a particular description.

He sits down under the shade of the next tree, or on the shady side of his house, and a large quantity of leaves, either of the bread-fruit or banana, are neatly spread before him upon the ground as a table-cloth; a basket is then set by him that contains his provision, which, if fish or flesh, is ready dressed, and wrapped up in leaves, and two cocoa-nut shells, one full of salt water and the other of fresh: his attendants, which

are not few, seat themselves round him, and when all is ready, he begins by washing his hands and his mouth thoroughly with the fresh water, and this he repeats almost continually throughout the whole meal: he then takes part of his provision out of the basket, which generally consists of a small fish or two, two or three bread-fruits, fourteen or fifteen ripe bananas, or six or seven apples: he first takes half a bread-fruit, peels off the rind, and takes out the core with his nails; of this he puts as much into his mouth as it can hold, and while he chews it, takes the fish out of the leaves, and breaks one of them into the salt-water, placing the other, and what remains of the bread-fruit, upon the leaves that have been spread before him. When this is done, he takes up a small piece of the fish that has been broken into the salt-water, with all the fingers of one hand, and sucks it into his mouth, so as to get with it as much of the salt water as possible: in the same manner he takes the rest by different morsels, and between each, at least very frequently, takes a small sup of the salt-water, either out of the cocoa-nut shell, or the palm of his hand: in the mean time one of his attendants has prepared a young cocoa-nut, by peeling off the outer rind with his teeth, an operation which to an European appears very surprising; but it depends so much upon slight, that many of us were able to do it before we left the island, and some that could scarcely crack a filbert: the master, when he chuses to drink, takes the cocoa-nut thus prepared, and boring a hole through the shell with his finger, or breaking it with a stone, he sucks out the liquor. When he has eaten his bread-fruit and fish, he begins with his plantains, one of which makes but a mouthful, though it be as big as a black pudding; if instead of plantains he has apples, he never tastes them till they have been pared; to do this a shell is picked up from the ground, where they are always in plenty, and tossed to him by an attendant: he immediately begins to cut or scrape off the rind,



but so awkwardly that great part of the fruit is wasted. If instead of fish, he has flesh he must have some succedaneum for a knife to divide it; and for this purpose a piece of bamboo is tossed to him, of which he makes the necessary implement by splitting it transversely with his nail. While all this has been doing, some of his attendants have been employed in beating bread-fruit with a stone pestle upon a block of wood; by being beaten in this manner, and sprinkled from time to time with water, it is reduced to the consistence of a soft paste, and is then put into a vessel somewhat like a butcher's tray, and either made up alone, or mixed with banana or mahie, according to the taste of the master, by pouring water upon it by degrees and squeezing it often through the hand; under this operation it acquires the consistence of a thick custard, and a large cocoa-nut shell full of it being set before him, he sips it as we should do a jelly, if we had no spoon to take it from the glass: the meal is then finished by again washing his hands and his mouth. After which the cocoa-nut shells are cleaned, and every thing that is left is replaced in the basket.

The quantity of food which these people eat at a meal is prodigious: I have seen one man devour two or three fishes as big as a perch; three bread-fruits each bigger than two fists; fourteen or fifteen plantains or bananas, each of them six or seven inches long, and four or five round, and near a quart of the pounded bread-fruit, which is as substantial as the thickest unbaked custard. This is so extraordinary, that I scarcely expect to be believed; and I would not have related it upon my own single testimony, but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and most of the other gentlemen, have had ocular demonstration of its truth, and know that I mention them upon the occasion.

It is very wonderful, that these people who are remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasure from the table, where among all other nations, whether civil or

savage, they have been principally enjoyed. How a meal, which every where else brings families and friends together, came to separate them here, we often enquired, but could never learn. They eat alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone, they never attempted to tell us: such, however, was the force of habit, that they expressed the strongest dislike, and even disgust, at our eating in society, especially with our women, and of the same victuals. At first, we thought this strange singularity arose from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. We observed also some caprices in the custom, for which we could as little account as for the custom itself. We could never prevail with any of the women to partake of the victuals at our table when we were dining in company; yet they would go, five or six together, into the servants apartment, and there eat very heartily of whatever they could find, of which I have before given a particular instance; nor were they in the least disconcerted if we came in while they were doing it. When any of us have been alone with a woman, she has sometimes eaten in our company; but then she has expressed the greatest unwillingness that it should be known, and always extorted the strongest promises of secrecy.

Among themselves, even two brothers and two sisters have each their separate baskets, with provision and the apparatus of their meal. When they first visited us at our tents, each brought his basket with him; and when we sat down to table, they would go out, sit down upon the ground, at two or three yards distance from each other, and turning their faces different ways, take their repast without interchanging a single word.

The women not only abstain from eating with the men, and of the same victuals, but even have their victuals separately prepared by boys kept for that purpose, who deposit it in a separate shed, and attend them with it at their meals.

But though they would not eat with us or with each





A DANCE AT ULITEA.

other, they have often asked us to eat with them, when we have visited those with whom we were particularly acquainted at their houses ; and we have often upon such occasions eat out of the same basket, and drunk out of the same cup. The elder women, however, always appeared to be offended at this liberty ; and if we happened to touch their victuals, or even the basket that contained it, would throw it away.

After meals, and in the heat of the day, the middle-aged people of the better sort generally sleep ; they are indeed extremely indolent, and sleeping and eating is almost all that they do. Those that are older are less drowsy, and the boys and girls are kept awake by the natural activity and sprightliness of their age.

Their amusements have occasionally been mentioned in my account of the incidents that happened during our residence in this island, particularly music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow ; they also sometimes vie with each other in throwing a lance. As shooting is not at a mark, but for distance ; throwing the lance is not for distance, but at a mark : the weapon is about nine feet long, the mark is the bole of a plantain, and the distance about twenty yards.

Their only musical instruments are flutes and drums ; the flutes are made of a hollow bamboo about a foot long, and, as has been observed before, have only two stops, and consequently but four notes, out of which they seem hitherto to have formed but one tune ; to these stops they apply the fore finger of the left hand and the middle finger of the right.

The drum is made of a hollow block or wood, of a cylindrical form, solid at one end, and covered at the other with shark's skin : these they beat not with sticks, but their hands ; and they know how to tune two drums of different notes into concord. They have also an expedient to bring the flutes that play together into unison, which is to roll up a leaf so as to slip over the end of the shortest, like our sliding



tubes for telescopes, which they move up or down till the purpose is answered, of which they seem to judge by their ear with great nicety.

To these instruments they sing ; and as I have observed before, their songs are often extempore : they call every two verses or couplet a song, *pehay* : they are generally, though not always in rhyme ; and when pronounced by the natives, we could discover that they were metre. Mr. Banks took great pains to write down some of them which were made upon our arrival, as nearly as he could express their sounds by combinations of our letters ; but when we read them, not having their accent, we could scarcely make them either metre or rhyme. The reader will easily perceive that they are of very different structure.

Tede pahai de parow-a

Ha maru no mina.

E pahah Tayo ma'ama tai ya

No Tabane tonatou whannomi ya.

E Turai cattu terara patee whennua toai

Ino o maio Pretane to whennuaia no Tute.

Of these verses our knowledge of the language is too imperfect to attempt a translation. They frequently amuse themselves by singing such couplets as these when they are alone, or with their families, especially after it is dark : for though they need no fires, they are not without the comfort of artificial light between sun-set and bed-time. Their candles are made of the kernels of a kind of oily nut, which they stick one over another upon a skewer that is thrust through the middle of them ; the upper one being lighted, burns down to the second, at the same time consuming that part of the skewer which goes through it ; the second taking fire burns in the same manner down to the third, and so of the rest : some of these candles will burn a considerable time, and they give a very tolerable light. They do not often sit up above an hour after it is dark ; but when they have strangers who sleep in the house, they generally keep a light burning all night, possibly

as a check upon such of the women as they wish not to honour them with their favours.

Of their itinerary concerts I need add nothing to what has been said already ; especially as I shall have occasion, more particularly, to mention them when I relate our adventures upon another island.

In other countries, the girls and unmarried women are supposed to be wholly ignorant of what others upon some occasions may appear to know ; and their conduct and conversation are consequently restrained within narrower bounds, and keep at a more remote distance from whatever relates to a connexion with the other sex : but here, it is just contrary. Among other diversions, there is a dance, called *timorodee*, which is performed by young girls, whenever eight or ten of them can be collected together, consisting of motions and gestures beyond imagination wanton, in the practice of which they are brought up from their earliest childhood, accompanied by words which, if it were possible, would more explicitly convey the same ideas. In these dances they keep time with an exactness which is scarcely excelled by the best performers upon the stages of Europe. But the practice which is allowed to the virgin, is prohibited to the woman from the moment that she has put these hopeful lessons in practice, and realized the symbols of the dance.

It cannot be supposed that, among these people, chastity is held in much estimation. It might be expected that sisters and daughters would be offered to strangers, either as a courtesy, or for reward ; and that breaches of conjugal fidelity, even in the wife, should not be otherwise punished than by a few hard words, or perhaps a slight beating, as indeed is the case : but there is a scale in dissolute sensuality, which these people have ascended, wholly unknown to every other nation whose manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the present hour, and which no imagination could possibly conceive.

A very considerable number of the principal people of Otahete, of both sexes, have formed themselves

into a society, in which every woman is common to every man ; thus securing a perpetual variety as often as their inclination prompts them to seek it, which is so frequent, that the same man and woman seldom cohabit together more than three days.

These societies are distinguished by the name of *arreoy* : and the members have meetings, at which no other is present, where the men amuse themselves by wrestling, and the woman notwithstanding their occasional connexion with different men, dance the timorodee in all its latitude, as an incitement to desires which it is said are frequently gratified upon the spot. This however is comparatively nothing. If any of the women happen to be with child, which in this manner of life happens less frequently than if they were to cohabit only with one man, the poor infant is smothered the moment it is born, that it may be no incumbrance to the father, nor interrupt the mother in the pleasures of her diabolical prostitution. It sometimes indeed happens, that the passion which prompts a woman to enter into this society, is surmounted when she becomes a mother, by that instinctive affection which nature has given to all creatures for the preservation of their offspring ; but even in this case, she is not permitted to spare the life of her infant, except she can find a man who will patronise it as his child : if this can be done, the murder is prevented ; but both the man and woman, being deemed by this act to have appropriated each other, are ejected from the community, and forfeit all claim to the privileges and pleasures of *arreoy* for the future ; the woman from that time being distinguished by the term *whannow-now*, “ bearer of children,” which is here a term of reproach ; though none can be more honourable in the estimation of wisdom and humanity, of right reason, and every passion that distinguishes the man from the brute.

It is not fit that a practice so horrid and so strange should be imputed to human beings upon slight evidence, but I have such as abundantly justifies me in the account I have given. The people themselves are so

far from concealing their connexion with such a society as a disgrace, that they boast of it as a privilege ; and both myself and Mr. Banks, when particular persons have been pointed out to us as members of the arreoy, have questioned them about it, and received the account that has been here given from their own lips. They have acknowledged, that they had long been of this accursed society, that they belonged to it at that time, and that several of their children had been put to death.

But I must not conclude my account of the domestic life of these people without mentioning their personal cleanliness. If that which lessens the good of life and increases the evil is vice, sure cleanliness is a virtue : the want of it tends to destroy both beauty and health, and mingles disgust with our best pleasures. The natives of Otaheite, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water three times every day ; once as soon as they rise in the morning, once at noon, and again before they sleep at night, whether the sea or river is near them or at a distance. I have already observed, that they wash not only the mouth, but the hands at their meals, almost between every morsel ; and their clothes, as well as their persons, are kept without spot or stain ; so that in a large company of these people, nothing is suffered but heat, which, perhaps, is more than can be said of the politest assembly in Europe.

---

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *Of the Manufactures, Boats, and Navigation of Otaheite.*

If necessity is the mother of invention, it cannot be supposed to have been much exerted where the

liberality of nature has rendered the diligence of art almost superfluous ; yet there are many instances both of ingenuity and labour among these people, which, considering the want of metal for tools, do honour to both.

Their principal manufacture is their cloth, in the making and dying of which I think there are some particulars which may instruct even the artificers of Great Britain, and for that reason my description will be more minute.

Their cloth is of three kinds ; and it is made of the bark of three different trees, the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the tree which resembles the wild fig-tree of the West Indies.

The finest and whitest is made of the paper mulberry, *Aouta* ; this is worn chiefly by the principal people, and when it is dyed red takes a better colour. A second sort, inferior in whiteness and softness, is made of the bread-fruit tree, *Ooroo*, and worn chiefly by the inferior people ; and a third of the tree that resembles the fig, which is coarse and harsh, and of the colour of the darkest brown paper : this, though it is less pleasing both to the eye and the touch, is the most valuable, because it resists water, which the other two sorts will not. Of this, which is the most rare as well as the most useful, the greater part is perfumed, and worn by the chiefs as a morning dress.

All these trees are propagated with great care, particularly the mulberry, which covers the largest part of the cultivated land, and is not fit for use after two or three years growth, when it is about six or eight feet high, and somewhat thicker than a man's thumb ; its excellence is to be thin, straight, tall, and without branches : the lower leaves, therefore, are carefully plucked off, with their germs, as often as there is any appearance of their producing a branch.

But though the cloth made of these three trees is different, it is all manufactured in the same manner ; I shall, therefore, describe the process only in the fine



sort, that is made of the mulberry. When the trees are of a proper size, they are drawn up, and stripped of their branches, after which the roots and tops are cut off; the bark of these rods being then slit up longitudinally is easily drawn off, and, when a proper quantity has been procured, it is carried down to some running water, in which it is deposited to soak, and secured from floating away by heavy stones: when it is supposed to be sufficiently softened, the women servants go down to the brook, and stripping themselves, sit down in the water, to separate the inner bark from the green part on the outside; to do this they place the under side upon a flat smooth board, and with the shell which our dealers call tyger's tongue, *Telilna gargadia*, scrape it very carefully, dipping it continually in the water till nothing remains but the fine fibres of the inner coat. Being thus prepared in the afternoon, they are spread out upon plaintain leaves in the evening; and in this part of the work there appears to be some difficulty, as the mistress of the family always superintends the doing of it; they are placed in lengths of about eleven or twelve yards, one by the side of another, till they are about a foot broad, and two or three layers are also laid one upon the other: care is taken that the cloth shall be in all parts of an equal thickness, so that if the bark happens to be thinner in any particular part of one layer than the rest, a piece that is somewhat thicker is picked out to be laid over it in the next. In this state it remains till the morning, when great part of the water which it contained when it was laid out, is either drained off or evaporated, and the several fibres adhere together, so as that the whole may be raised from the ground in one piece.

It is then taken away, and laid upon the smooth side of a long piece of wood, prepared for the purpose, and beaten by the women servants, with instruments about a foot long and three inches thick, made of a hard wood which they call *etoa*. The shape of this instrument is not unlike a square razor strop, only that

the handle is longer, and each of its four sides or faces is marked, lengthways, with small grooves, or furrows, of different degrees of fineness ; those on one side being of a width and depth sufficient to receive a small pack-thread, and the others finer in a regular gradation, so that the last are not more than equal to sewing silk.

They beat it first with the coarsest side of this mallet, keeping time like our smiths ; it spreads very fast under the strokes, chiefly however in the breadth, and the grooves in the mallet mark it with the appearance of threads ; it is successively beaten with the other sides, last with the finest, and is then fit for use. Sometimes, however, it is made still thinner, by beating it with the finest side of the mallet, after it has been several times doubled : it is then called *hoboo*, and is almost as thin as a muslin ; it becomes very white by being bleached in the air, but is made still whiter and softer by being washed and beaten again after it has been worn.

Of this cloth there are several sorts, of different degrees of fineness, in proportion as it is more or less beaten without being doubled : the other cloth also differs in proportion as it is beaten ; but they differ from each other in consequence of the different materials of which they are made. The bark of the bread-fruit is not taken till the trees are considerably longer and thicker than those of the fig ; the process afterwards is the same.

When cloth is to be washed after it has been worn, it is taken down to the brook, and left to soak, being kept fast to the bottom, as at first, by a stone ; it is then gently rung or squeezed ; and sometimes several pieces of it are laid one upon another, and beaten together with the coarsest side of the mallet, and they are then equal in thickness to broad-cloth, and much more soft and agreeable to the touch, after they have been a little while in use, though when they come immediately from the mallet, they feel as if they had been starched. This cloth sometimes breaks in the beating, but is easily r -

paired by pasting on a patch with a gluten that is prepared from the root of the *pea*, which is done so nicely that it cannot be discovered. The women also employ themselves in removing blemishes of every kind, as our ladies do in needle-work or knotting; sometimes when their work is intended to be very fine, they will paste an entire covering of hoboo over the whole. The principal excellencies of this cloth are its coolness and softness; and its imperfections, its being pervious to water like paper, and almost as easily torn.

The colours with which they dye this cloth are principally red and yellow. The red is exceedingly beautiful, and I may venture to say a brighter and more delicate colour than any we have in Europe; that which approaches nearest is our full scarlet, and the best imitation which Mr. Banks's natural history painter could produce, was by a mixture of vermilion and earmine. The yellow is also a bright colour, but we have many as good.

The red colour is produced by the mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which separately has the least tendency to that hue. One is a species of fig called here *matte*, and the other the *cordia sebastina*, or *etou*; of the fig the fruit is used, and of the *cordia* the leaves.

The fruit of the fig is about as big as a rounceval pea, or very small gooseberry; and each of them, upon breaking off the stalk very close, produces one drop of a milky liquor, resembling the juice of our figs, of which the tree is indeed a species. This liquor the women collect into a small quantity of cocoa-nut water: to prepare a gill of cocoa-nut water will require between three and four quarts of these little figs. When a sufficient quantity is prepared, the leaves of the *etou* are well wetted in it, and then laid upon a plantain leaf, where they are turned about till they become more and more flaccid, and then they are gently squeezed, gradually increasing the pressure, but so as not to break them; as the flaccidity increases, and they become spungy, they

are supplied with more of the liquor ; in about five minutes the colour begins to appear upon the veins of the leaves, and in about ten or a little more, they are perfectly saturated with it : they are then squeezed, with as much force as can be applied, and the liquor strained at the same time that it is expressed.

For this purpose, the boys prepare a large quantity of the moo, by drawing it between their teeth, or two little sticks, till it is freed from the green bark, and the branny substance that lies under it, and a thin web of the fibres only remains ; in this the leaves of the etou are enveloped, and through these the juice which they contain is strained as it is forced out. As the leaves are not succulent, little more juice is pressed out of them than they have imbibed : when they have been once emptied, they are filled again, and again pressed, till the quality which tinctures the liquor as it passes through them is exhausted, they are then thrown away ; but the Moo, being deeply stained with the colour, is preserved as a brush to lay the dye upon the cloth.

The expressed liquor is always received into small cups made of the plantain leaf, whether from a notion that it has any quality favourable to the colour, or from the facility with which it is procured, and the convenience of small vessels to distribute it among the artificers, I do not know.

Of the thin cloth they seldom dye more than the edges, but the thick cloth is coloured through the whole surface ; the liquor is indeed used rather as a pigment than a dye, for a coat of it is laid upon one side only, with the fibres of the moo ; and though I have seen of the thin cloth that has appeared to have been soaked in the liquor, the colour has not had the same richness and lustre, as when it has been applied in the other manner.

Though the leaf of the etou is generally used in this process, and probably produces the finest colour ; yet the juice of the figs will produce a red by a mix

ture with the species of *tournefortia*, which they call *taheinoo*, the *pohuc*, the *eurhe* or *convolvulus Brasiliensis*, and a species of *solanum* called *ebooa*; from the use of these different plants, or from different proportions of the materials, many varieties are observable in the colours of their cloth, some of which are conspicuously superior to others.

The beauty, however, of the best is not permanent; but it is probable that some method might be found to fix it, if proper experiments were made, and perhaps to search for latent qualities, which may be brought out by the mixture of one vegetable juice with another, would not be an unprofitable employment: our present most valuable dyes afford sufficient encouragement to the attempt; for by the mere inspection of indigo, woad, dyer's weed, and most of the leaves which are used for the like purposes, the colours which they yield could never be discovered. Of this Indian red I shall only add, that the women who have been employed in preparing or using it, carefully preserve the colour upon their fingers and nails, where it appears in its utmost beauty, as a great ornament.

The yellow is made of the bark of the root of the *morinda citrifolia*, called *nono*, by scraping and infusing it in water; after standing some time, the water is strained and used as a dye, the cloth being dipped into it. The *morinda*, of which this is a species, seems to be a good subject for examination with a view to dyeing. Brown, in his history of Jamaica, mentions three species of it, which he says are used to dye brown; and Rumphius says of the *bancuda angustifolia*, which is nearly allied to our *nono*, that it is used by the inhabitants of the East-Indian Islands, as a fixing drug for red colours, with which it particularly agrees.

The inhabitants of this island also dye yellow with the fruit of the *Tamanu*; but how the colour is extracted, we had no opportunity to discover. They have



also a preparation with which they dye brown and black, but these colours are so indifferent, that the method of preparing them did not excite our curiosity.

Another considerable manufacture is matting of various kinds; some of which is finer, and better in every respect, than any we have in Europe: the coarser sort serves them to sleep upon, and the finer to wear in wet weather. With the fine, of which there are also two sorts, much pains is taken, especially with that made of the bark of the poerou, the *hibiscus tiliaceus* of Linnæus, some of which is as fine as a coarse cloth: the other sort, which is still more beautiful, they call *vanne*; it is white, glossy, and shining, and is made of the leaves of their *wharrou*, a species of the *pandanus*, of which we had no opportunity to see either the flowers or fruit: they have other mats, or as they call them *moeas*, to sit or to sleep upon, which are formed of a great variety of rushes and grass, and which they make, as they do every thing else that is plaited, with amazing facility and dispatch.

They are also very dexterous in making basket and wicker-work; their baskets are of a thousand different patterns, many of them exceedingly neat; and the making of them is an art that every one practices, both men and women: they make occasionally baskets and panniers of the cocoa-nut leaf in a few minutes, and the women who visited us early in a morning used to send, as soon as the sun was high, for a few of the leaves, of which they made little bonnets to shade their faces, at so small an expence of time and trouble, that, when the sun was again low in the evening, they used to throw them away. These bonnets, however, did not cover the head, but consisted only of a band that went round it, and a shade that projected from the forehead.

Of the bark of the Poerou they make ropes and lines, from the thickness of an inch to the size of a small packthread: with these they make nets for fish-

ing : of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make threads for fastening together the several parts of their canoe, and belts, either round or flat, twisted or plaited ; and of the bark of the *erowa*, a kind of nettle which grows in the mountains, and is therefore rather scarce, they make the best fishing lines in the world : with these they hold the strongest and most active fish, such as bonetas and abicores, which would snap our strongest silk lines in a minute, though they are twice as thick.

They make also a kind of seine, of a coarse broad grass, the blades of which are like flags ; these they twist and tie together in a loose manner, till the net, which is about as wide as a large sack, is from sixty to eighty fathom long : this they haul in shoal smooth water, and its own weight keeps it so close to the ground that scarcely a single fish can escape.

In every expedient, indeed, for taking fish, they are exceedingly ingenious ; they make harpoons of cane, and point them with hard wood, which in their hands strike fish more effectually, than those which are headed with iron can do in ours, setting aside the advantage of ours being fastened to a line, so that the fish is secured if the hook takes place, though it does not mortally wound him.

Of fish-hooks they have two sorts, admirably adapted in their construction as well to the purpose they are to answer, as to the materials of which they are made. One of these, which they call *wittee wittee*, is used for towing. The shank is made of mother of pearl, the most glossy that can be got : the inside, which is naturally the brightest, is put behind. To these hooks a tuft of white dog's or hog's hair is fixed, so as somewhat to resemble the tail of a fish ; these implements, therefore, are both hook and bait, and are used with a rod of bamboo, and line of *erowa*. The fisher, to secure his success, watches the flight of the birds which constantly attend the bonetas when they swim in sheals, by which he directs his canoe, and

when he has the advantage of these guides, he seldom returns without a prize.

The other kind of hook is also made of mother of pearl, or some other hard shell : they cannot make them bearded like our hooks ; but to effect the same purpose, they make the point turn inwards. These are made of all sizes, and used to catch various kinds of fish with great success. The manner of making them is very simple, and every fisherman is his own artificer : the shell is first cut into square pieces, by the edge of another shell, and wrought into a form corresponding with the outline of the hook by pieces of coral, which are sufficiently rough to perform the office of a file ; a hole is then bored in the middle ; the drill being no other than the first stone they pick up that has a sharp corner ; this they fix into the end of a piece of bamboo, and turn it between the hands like a chocolate mill ; when the shell is perforated, and the hole is sufficiently wide, a small file of coral is introduced, by the application of which the hook is in a short time completed, few costing the artificer more time than a quarter of an hour.

Of their masonry, carving, and architecture, the reader has already formed some idea from the account that has been given of the morais, or repositories of the dead : the other most important article of building and carving is their boats ; and perhaps, to fabricate one of their principal vessels with their tools, is as great a work as to build a British man of war with ours.

They have an adze of stone ; a chissel, or gouge, of bone, generally that of a man's arm between the wrist and elbow ; a rasp of coral ; and the skin of a sting-ray, with coral sand, as a file or polisher.

This is a complete catalogue of their tools, and with these they build houses, construct canoes, hew stone, and fell, cleave, carve, and polish timber.

The stone which makes the blade of their adzes is a kind of basalt, of a blackish or grey colour, not

very hard, but of considerable toughness : they are formed of different sizes ; some, that are intended for felling, weigh from six to eight pounds ; others, that are used for carving, not more than so many ounces ; but it is necessary to sharpen both almost every minute ; for which purpose, a stone and a cocoa-nut shell full of water are always at hand.

Their greatest exploit, to which these tools are less equal than to any other, is felling a tree : this requires many hands, and the constant labour of several days. When it is down, they split it, with the grain, into planks from three to four inches thick, the whole length and breadth of the tree, many of which are eight feet in the girth, and forty to the branches, and nearly of the same thickness throughout. The tree generally used is in their language called *avie*, the stem of which is tall and straight ; though some of the smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is a light spongy wood, and easily wrought. They smooth the plank very expeditiously and dexterously with their adzes, and can take off a thin coat from a whole plank without missing a stroke. As they have not the art of warping a plank, every part of the canoe, whether hollow or flat, is shaped by hand.

The canoes, or boats which are used by the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands, may be divided into two general classes ; one of which they call *ivahahs*, the other *pahies*.

The *ivahah* is used for short excursions to sea, and is well-sided and flat bottomed ; the *ahie* for longer voyages, and is bow-sided and sharp bottomed. The *ivahahs* are all of the same figure, but of different sizes, and used for different purposes : their length is from seventy-two feet to ten, but the breadth is by no means in proportion ; for those of ten feet are about a foot wide, and those of more than seventy are scarcely two. There is the fighting *ivahah*, the fishing *ivahah*, and the travelling *ivahah* ; for some of these go from one island to another. The fighting *ivahah* is by far the

longest, and the head and stern are considerably raised above the body, in a semicircular form ; particularly the stern, which is sometimes seventeen or eighteen feet high, though the boat itself is scarcely three. These never go to sea single ; but are fastened together, side by side, at the distance of about three feet, by strong poles of wood, which are laid across them and lashed to the gunwales. Upon these, in the forepart, a stage or platform is raised, about ten or twelve feet long, and somewhat wider than the boats, which is supported by pillars about six feet high : upon this stage stand the fighting men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears ; for among other singularities in the manners of these people, their bows and arrows are used only for diversion, as we throw quoits : below these stages sit the rowers, who receive from them those that are wounded, and furnish fresh men to ascend in their room. Some of these have a platform of bamboos or other light wood, through their whole length, and considerably broader, by means of which they will carry a great number of men ; but we saw only one fitted in this manner.

The fishing ivahahs vary in length from about forty feet to the smallest size, which is about ten ; all that are of the length of twenty-five feet and upwards, of whatever sort, occasionally carry sail. The travelling ivahah is always double, and furnished with a small neat house about five or six feet broad, and six or seven feet long, which is fastened upon the fore-part for the convenience of the principal people, who sit in them by day, and sleep in them at night. The fishing ivahahs are sometimes joined together, and have a house on board ; but this is not common.

Those which are shorter than five and twenty feet, seldom or never carry sail ; and, though the stern rises about four or five feet, have a flat head, and a board that projects forward about four feet.

The pahie is also of different sizes, from sixty to thirty feet long ; but, like the ivahah, is very narrow.



One that I measured was fifty-one feet long, and only one foot and a half wide at the top. In the widest part, it was about three feet; and this is the general proportion. It does not, however, widen by a gradual swell; but the sides being strait, and parallel, for a little way below the gunwale, it swells abruptly, and draws to a ridge at the bottom; so that a transverse section of it has somewhat the appearance of the mark upon cards called a spade, the whole being much wider in proportion to its length. These, like the largest ivahahs, are used for fighting; but principally for long voyages. The fighting pahie, which is the largest, is fitted with the stage or platform, which is proportionably larger than those of the ivahah, as their form enables them to sustain a much greater weight. Those that are used for sailing are generally double; and the middle size are said to be the best sea-boats. They are sometimes out a month together, going from island to island; and sometimes, as we were credibly informed, they are a fortnight or twenty days at sea, and could keep it longer if they had more stowage for provisions, and conveniences to hold fresh water.

When any of these boats carry sail single, they make use of a log of wood which is fastened to the end of two poles that lie across the vessel, and project from six to ten feet, according to the size of the vessel, beyond its side, somewhat like what is used by the flying Proa of the Ladrone Islands, and called in the Account of Lord Anson's voyage, an out-rigger. To this out-rigger the shrouds are fastened, and it is essentially necessary in trimming the boat when it blows fresh.

Some of them have one mast, and some two; they are made of a single stick, and when the length of the canoe is thirty feet, that of the mast is somewhat less than five and twenty; it is fixed to a frame that is above the canoe, and receives a sail of matting about one third longer than himself: the sail is pointed at the top, square at the bottom, and curved at the side; somewhat resembling what we call a shoulder of mutton.

ton sail, and use for boats belonging to men of war : it is placed in a frame of wood, which surrounds it on every side, and has no contrivance either for reefing or furling ; so that, if either should become necessary, it must be cut away, which, however, in these equal climates can seldom happen. At the top of the mast are fastened ornaments of feathers, which are placed inclining obliquely forwards ; the shape and position of which will be conceived at once from the figure, in one of the cuts.

The oars or paddles that are used with these boats, have a long handle and a flat blade, not unlike a baker's peel. Of these every person in the boat has one, except those that sit under the awning ; and they push her forward with them at a good rate. These boats, however, admit so much water at the seams, that one person at least is continually employed in throwing it out. The only thing in which they excel is landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf : by their great length and high sterns they land dry, when our boats could scarcely land at all ; and have the same advantages in putting off by the height of the head.

The ivahahs are the only boats that are used by the inhabitants of Otaheite ; but we saw several pahies that came from other islands. Of one of these I shall give the exact dimensions from a careful admeasurement, and then particularly describe the manner in which they are built.

	Feet.	Inches.
Extreme length from stem to stern, not reckoning the bending up of either	51	0
Breadth in the clear of the top forward	1	2
Breadth in the midships	1	6
Breadth aft	1	3
In the bilge forward	2	8
In the midships	2	11
Aft	2	9
Depth in the midships	3	4
Height from the ground on which she stood	3	6

	Feet.	Inches.
Height of her head from the ground, without the figure	4	4
Height of the figure	0	11
Height of the stern from the ground	8	9
Height of the figure	2	0

To illustrate my description of the manner in which these vessels are built, it will be necessary to refer to the figure; in which *a a* is the first seam, *b b* the second, and *c c* the third.



The first stage or keel, under *a a*, is made of a tree hollowed out like a trough; for which the longest trees are chosen that can be got, so that there are never more than three in the whole length: the next stage, under *b b*, is formed of a straight plank, about four feet long, fifteen inches broad, and two inches thick: the third stage under *c c*, is, like the bottom made of trunks, hollowed into its bilging form; the last is also cut out of trunks, so that the moulding is of one piece with the upright. To form these parts separately, without saw, plane, chissel, or any other iron tool, may well be thought no easy task; but the great difficulty is to join them together.

When all the parts are prepared, the keel is laid upon blocks, and the planks being supported by stanchions, are sewed or clamped together with strong thongs of plaiting, which are passed several times through holes that are bored with a gouge or auger of bone, that has been described already; and the nicety with which this is done, may be inferred from their being sufficiently water-tight for use without caulking. As the plaiting soon rots in the water, it is renewed at least once a-year; in order to which, the vessel is taken entirely to pieces. The head and stern are rude with respect to the design; but very neatly finished, and polished to the highest degree.

These pah'ies are kept with great care, in a kind of house built on purpose for their reception ; the houses are formed of poles set upright in the ground, the tops of which are drawn towards each other, and fastened together with their strongest cord, so as to form a kind of gothic arc, which is completely thatched quite to the ground, being open only at the ends ; they are sometimes fifty or sixty spaces long.

As connected with the navigation of these people, I shall mention their wonderful sagacity in foretelling the weather, at least the quarter from which the wind shall blow at a future time ; they have several ways of doing this, of which however I know but one. They say, that the milky-way is always curved laterally ; but sometimes in one direction, and sometimes in another : and that this curvature is the effect of its being already acted upon by the wind, and its hollow part therefore towards it ; so that, if the same curvature continues a night, a corresponding wind certainly blows the next day. Of their rules, I shall not pretend to judge ; but I know that, by whatever means, they can predict the weather, at least the wind with much greater certainty than we can.

In their longer voyages, they steer by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars ; all of which they distinguish separately by names, and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months during which they are visible in their horizon ; they also know the time of their annual appearing and disappearing with more precision than will easily be believed by an European astronomer.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Division of Time in Otaheite ; Numeration, Computation of Distance, Language, Diseases, Disposal of the Dead, Religion, War, Weapons, and Government ; with some general Observations for the Use of future Navigators.*

WE were not able to acquire a perfect idea of their method of dividing time ; but observed, that in speaking of it, either past or to come, they never used any term but *malama*, which signifies Moon. Of these moons they count thirteen, and then begin again ; which is a demonstration that they have a notion of the solar year : but how they compute their months so that thirteen of them shall be commensurate with the year, we could not discover ; for they say that each month has twenty-nine days, including one in which the moon is not visible. They have names for them separately, and have frequently told us the fruits that would be in season, and the weather that would prevail, in each of them ; and they have indeed a name for them collectively, though they use it only when they speak of the mysteries of their religion.

Every day is subdivided into twelve parts, each of two hours, of which six belong to the day, and six to the night. At these divisions they guess pretty nearly by the height of the sun while he is above the horizon ; but there are few of them that can guess at them, when he is below it, by the stars.

In numeration they proceed from one to ten, the number of fingers on both hands ; and though they have for each number a different name, they generally take hold of their fingers one by one, shifting from one hand to the other till they come to the number they want to express. And in other instances we ob-



served that, when they were conversing with each other they joined signs to their words, which were so expressive that a stranger might easily apprehend their meaning.

In counting from ten they repeat the name of that number, and add the word *more* : ten, and one more, is eleven ; ten, and two more, twelve ; and so of the rest, as we say one and twenty, two and twenty. When they come to ten and ten more, they have a new denomination, as we say a score ; and by these scores they count till they get ten of them, when they have a denomination for two hundred ; and we never could discover that they had any denomination to express a greater number : neither, indeed, do they seem to want any ; for ten of these amount to two thousand, a greater number than they can ever apply.

In measuring distance they are much more deficient than in computing numbers, having but one term which answers to fathom ; when they speak of distances from place to place, they express it, like the Asiatics, by the time that is required to pass it.

Their language is soft and melodious ; it abounds with vowels, and we easily learnt to pronounce it : but found it exceedingly difficult to teach them to pronounce a single word of ours ; probably not only from its abounding in consonants, but from some peculiarity in its structure ; for Spanish and Italian words, if ending in a vowel, they pronounced with great facility.

Whether it is copious, we were not sufficiently acquainted with it to know ; but it is certainly very imperfect ; for it is almost totally without inflexion, both of nouns and verbs. Few of the nouns have more than one case, and few of the verbs more than one tense ; yet we found no great difficulty in making ourselves mutually understood, however strange it may appear in speculation.

They have, however, certain *affixa*, which, though but few in number, are very useful to them, and puzzled us extremely. One asks another, *Harre hea* ?

“Where are you going?” the other answers *Ivahinera*, “To my wives;” upon which the first repeating the answer interrogatively, “To your wives?” is answered, *Ivahinereira*; “Yes, I am going to my wives.” Here the suffixa *era* and *eira* save several words to both parties.

I have inserted a few of their words, from which perhaps some idea may be formed of the language.

Pupo,	<i>the head.</i>	Poe matawewwe,	<i>pearl.</i>
Ahewh,	<i>the nose.</i>	Ahou,	<i>a garment.</i>
Roourou,	<i>the hair.</i>	Avce,	<i>a fruit like apples.</i>
Outou,	<i>the mouth.</i>	Ahee,	<i>another like chesnuts.</i>
Niheo,	<i>the teeth.</i>	Ewharre,	<i>a house.</i>
Arrero,	<i>the tongue.</i>	Whennua,	<i>a high island.</i>
Meu-eumi,	<i>the beard.</i>	Motu,	<i>a low island.</i>
Tiarrabo,	<i>the throat.</i>	Toto,	<i>blood.</i>
Tuamo,	<i>the shoulders.</i>	Aeve,	<i>bone,</i>
Tuah,	<i>the back.</i>	Aeo,	<i>flesh.</i>
Oama,	<i>the breast.</i>	Mae,	<i>fat.</i>
Eu,	<i>the nipples.</i>	Tuea,	<i>lean.</i>
Oboo,	<i>the belly.</i>	Huru-huru,	<i>hair.</i>
Rema,	<i>the arm.</i>	Eraow,	<i>a tree.</i>
Oporema,	<i>the hand.</i>	Ama,	<i>a branch.</i>
Manneow,	<i>the fingers.</i>	Tiale,	<i>a flower.</i>
Mieu,	<i>the nails.</i>	Huero,	<i>fruit.</i>
Touhe,	<i>the buttocks.</i>	Etummoo,	<i>the stem.</i>
Hoouhah,	<i>the thighs.</i>	Aaa,	<i>the root.</i>
Avia,	<i>the legs.</i>	Eiherre,	<i>herbaceous plants.</i>
Tapoa,	<i>the feet.</i>	Oopa,	<i>a pigeon.</i>
Booa,	<i>a hog</i>	Avigne,	<i>a paroquet.</i>
Moa,	<i>a fowl</i>	A-a,	<i>another species.</i>
Euree,	<i>a dog.</i>	Mannu,	<i>a bird.</i>
Eure-eure,	<i>iron.</i>	Mora,	<i>a duck.</i>
Ooroo,	<i>bread-fruit.</i>	Mattow,	<i>a fish-hook.</i>
Hearee,	<i>cocoa-nuts.</i>	Toura,	<i>a rope.</i>
Mia,	<i>bananas.</i>	Mow,	<i>a shark.</i>
Vae,	<i>wild plantains.</i>	Mahi-mahi,	<i>a dolphin.</i>
Poe,	<i>beads.</i>	Mattera,	<i>a fishing-rod.</i>

Eupea,	<i>anet.</i> Poto,	<i>short.</i>
Mahanna,	<i>the sun.</i> Roa,	<i>tail.</i>
Malama,	<i>the moon.</i> Nehenne,	<i>sweet.</i>
Whettu,	<i>a star.</i> Mala-mala,	<i>bitter.</i>
Whettu-euphe,	<i>a comet.</i> Whauno,	<i>to go far.</i>
Erai,	<i>the sky.</i> Harre,	<i>to go.</i>
Eatta,	<i>a cloud.</i> Arrea,	<i>to stay.</i>
Miti,	<i>good.</i> Enoho,	<i>to remain.</i>
Eno,	<i>bad.</i> Rohe rohe,	<i>to be tired.</i>
A,	<i>yes.</i> Maa,	<i>to eat.</i>
Ima,	<i>no.</i> Inoo,	<i>to drink.</i>
Paree,	<i>ugly.</i> Ete,	<i>to understand.</i>
Paroree,	<i>hungry.</i> Warrido,	<i>to steal.</i>
Pia,	<i>full.</i> Worridde,	<i>to be angry.</i>
Timahah,	<i>heavy.</i> Teparahi,	<i>to beat.</i>
Mama,	<i>light.</i>	

Among people whose food is so simple, and who in general are seldom drunk, it is scarcely necessary to say, that there are but few diseases; we saw no critical disease during our stay upon the island, and but few instances of sickness, which were accidental fits of the colic. The natives, however, are afflicted with the erysipelas, and cutaneous eruptions of the scaly kind, very nearly approaching to a leprosy. Those in whom this distemper was far advanced, lived in a state of seclusion from all society, each in a small house built upon some unfrequented spot, where they were supplied with provisions: but where they had any hope of relief, or languished out the remainder of their lives in solitude and despair, we could not learn. We observed also a few who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearance; yet they seemed not much to be regarded by those who were afflicted with them, for they were left intirely without application even to keep off the flies.

Where intemperance produces no diseases, there will be no physicians by profession; yet where there is sufferance, there will always be attempts to relieve;

and where the cause of the mischief and the remedy are alike unknown, these will naturally be directed by superstition ; thus it happens, that in this country, and in all others which are not further injured by luxury, or improved by knowledge, the management of the sick falls to the lot of the priest. The method of cure that is practised by the priests of Otaheite, consists chiefly of prayers and ceremonies. When he visits his patient he repeats certain sentences, which appear to be set forms contrived for the occasion, and at the same time plaits the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different figures very neatly ; some of these he fastens to the fingers and toes of the sick, and often leaves behind him a few branches of the *the specia populnea*, which they call *E'midho* : these ceremonies are repeated till the patient recovers or dies. If he recovers, they say the remedies cured him, if he dies, they say the disease was incurable, in which perhaps they do not much differ from the custom of other countries.

If we had judged of their skill in surgery from the dreadful scars which we sometimes saw, we should have supposed it to be much superior to the art not only of their physicians, but of ours. We saw one man whose face was almost entirely destroyed, his nose, including the bone, was perfectly flat, and one cheek and one eye were so beaten in, that the hollow would almost receive a man's fist, yet no ulcer remained ; and our companion, Tupia, had been pierced quite through his body by a spear headed with the bone of the sting-ray, the weapon having entered his back, and come out under his breast ; but except in reducing dislocations and fractures, the best surgeon can contribute very little to the cure of a wound ; the blood itself is the best vulnerary balsam, and when the juices of the body are pure, and the patient is temperate, nothing more is necessary as an aid to nature in the cure of the worst wound, than the keeping it clean.

Their commerce with the inhabitants of Europe has

however, already entailed upon them that dreadful curse which avenged the inhumanities committed by the Spaniards in America, the venereal disease. As it is certain that no European vessel besides our own, except the Dolphin, and the two that were under the command of Mons. Bougainville, ever visited this island, it must have been brought either by one of them or by us. That it was not brought by the Dolphin, Captain Wallis has demonstrated in the account of her voyage, and nothing is more certain than that when we arrived it had made most dreadful ravages in the island. One of our people contracted it within five days after we went on shore, and by the enquiries among the natives, which this occasioned, we learnt, when we came to understand a little of their language, that it had been brought by the vessels which had been there about fifteen months before us, and had lain on the east side of the island. They distinguished it by a name of the same import with *rottenness*, but of a more extensive signification, and described, in the most pathetic terms, the sufferings of the first victims to its rage, and told us that it caused the hair and the nails to fall off, and the flesh to rot from the bones : that it spread a universal terror and consternation among them, so that the sick were abandoned by their nearest relations, lest the calamity should spread by contagion, and left to perish alone in such misery as till then had never been known among them. We had some reason, however, to hope that they had found out a specific to cure it : during our stay upon the island we saw none in whom it had made a great progress, and one who went from us infected, returned after a short time in perfect health ; and by this it appeared either that the disease had cured itself, or that they were not unacquainted with the virtues of simples, or implicit dupes to the superstitious follies of their priests. We endeavoured to learn the medical qualities which they imputed to their plants, but our knowledge of their language was too



imperfect for us to succeed. If we could have learnt their specific for the venereal disease, if such they have, it would have been of great advantage to us, for when we left the island it had been contracted by more than half the people on board the ship.

It is impossible but that, in relating incidents, many particulars with respect to the customs, opinions, and works of these people should be anticipated ; to avoid repetition, therefore, I shall only supply deficiencies. Of the manner of disposing of their dead, much has been said already. I must more explicitly observe that there are two places in which the dead are deposited ; one a kind of shed, where the flesh is suffered to putrify ; the other an enclosure, with erections of stones, where the bones are afterwards buried. The sheds are called Tupapow, and the enclosures Morai. The Morais are also places of worship.

As soon as a native of Otaheite is known to be dead, the house is filled with relations, who deplore their loss, some by loud lamentations, some by less clamorous, but more genuine expressions of grief. Those who are in the nearest degree of kindred, and are really affected by the event, are silent ; the rest are one moment uttering passionate exclamations in a chorus, and the next laughing and talking without the least appearance of concern. In this manner the remainder of the day on which they assemble is spent, and all the succeeding night. On the next morning the body is shrouded in their cloth, and conveyed to the sea side upon a bier, which the bearers support upon their shoulders, attended by the priest, who having prayed over the body, repeats his sentences during the procession : when it arrives at the water's edge, it is set down upon the beach ; the priest renews his prayers, and taking up some of the water in his hands, sprinkles it towards the body, but not upon it. It is then carried back forty or fifty yards, and soon after brought again to the beach, where the prayers and sprinkling are repeated : it is thus removed backwards

and forwards several times, and while these ceremonies have been performing a house has been built, and a small space of ground railed in. In the centre of this house, or tupapow, posts are set up to support the bier, which is at length conveyed thither, and placed upon it, and here the body remains to putrify till the flesh is wholly wasted from the bones.

These houses of corruption are of a size proportioned to the rank of the person whose body they are to contain; those allotted to the lower class are just sufficient to cover the bier, and have no railing round them. The largest we ever saw was eleven yards long, and such as these are ornamented according to the abilities and inclination of the surviving kindred, who never fail to lay a profusion of good cloth about the body, and sometimes almost cover the outside of the house. Garlands of the fruit of the palm-nut or *pandanus*, and cocoa leaves, twisted by the priests in mysterious knots, with a plant called by them *ethee no morai*, which is particularly consecrated to funereal solemnities, are deposited about the place; provision and water are also left at a little distance, of which and of other decorations, a more particular description has been given already.

As soon as the body is deposited in the tupapow, the mourning is renewed. The women assemble, and are led to the door by the nearest relation, who strikes a shark's tooth several times into the crown of her head: the blood copiously follows, and is carefully received upon pieces of linen, which are thrown into the bier. The rest of the women follow this example, and the ceremony is repeated at the interval of two or three days, as long as the zeal and sorrow of the parties hold out. The tears also which are shed upon these occasions, are received upon pieces of cloth, and offered as oblations to the dead: some of the younger people cut off their hair, and that is thrown under the bier with the other offerings. This custom is founded upon a notion that the soul of the deceased, which

they believe to exist in a separate state, is hovering about the place where the body is deposited : that it observes the actions of the survivors, and is gratified by such testimonies of their affection and grief.

Two or three days after these ceremonies have been commenced by the women, during which the men seem to be wholly insensible of their loss, they also begin to perform their part. The nearest relations take it in turn to assume the dress, and perform the office which have been particularly described in the account of Tubourai Tamaide's having acted as chief mourner to an old woman, his relation, who died while we were in the island. One part of the ceremony, however, which accounts for the running away of the people as soon as this procession is in sight, has not been mentioned. The chief mourner carries in his hand a long flat stick, the edge of which is set with shark's teeth, and in a phrenzy, which his grief is supposed to have inspired, he runs at all he sees, and if any of them happen to be overtaken, he strikes them most unmercifully with his indented cudgel, which cannot fail to wound them in a dangerous manner.

These processions continue at certain intervals for five moons, but are less and less frequent, by a gradual diminution, as the end of that time approaches. When it is expired, what remains of the body is taken down from the bier, and the bones having been scraped and washed very clean, are buried, according to the rank of the person, either within or without a morai : if the deceased was an earee, or chief, his skull is not buried with the rest of the bones, but is wrapped up in fine cloth, and put in a kind of box made for that purpose, which is also placed in the morai. This coffer is called *ewharre no te oromtua*, the house of a teacher or master. After this the mourning ceases, except some of the women continue to be really afflicted for the loss, and in that case they will sometimes suddenly wound themselves with the shark's tooth wherever they happen to be : this perhaps will

account for the passion of grief in which Terabo wounded herself at the fort ; some accidental circumstance might forcibly revive the remembrance of a friend or relation whom she had lost, with a pungency of regret and tenderness which forced a vent by tears, and prompted her to a repetition of the funereal rite.

The ceremonies, however, do not cease with the mourning : prayers are still said by the priest, who is well paid by the surviving relations, and offerings made at the morai. Some of the things, which from time to time are deposited there, are emblematical : a young plantain represents the deceased, and the bunch of feathers the deity who is invoked. The priest places himself over-against the symbol of the god, accompanied by some of the relations, who are furnished with a small offering, and repeats his oraison in a set form, consisting of separate sentences ; at the same time weaving the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different forms, which he afterwards deposits upon the ground where the bones have been interred ; the deity is then addressed by a shrill screech, which is used only upon that occasion. When the priest retires, the tuft of feathers is removed, and the provisions left to putrify, or be devoured by the rats.

Of the religion of these people, we were not able to acquire any clear and consistent knowledge : we found it like the religion of most other countries, involved in mystery, and perplexed with apparent inconsistencies. The religious language is also here, as it is in China, different from that which is used in common ; so that Tupia, who took great pains to instruct us, having no words to express his meaning which we understood, gave us lectures to very little purpose : what we learnt, however, I will relate with as much perspicuity as I can.

Nothing is more obvious to a rational being, however ignorant or stupid, than that the universe and its various parts, as far as they fall under his notice, were produced by some agent inconceivably mor

powerful than himself; and nothing is more difficult to be conceived, even by the most sagacious and knowing, than the production of them from nothing, which among us expressed by the word *creation*. It is natural therefore, as no being apparently capable of producing the universe is to be seen, that he should be supposed to reside in some distant part of it, or to be in his nature invisible, and that he should have originally produced all that now exists in a manner similar to that in which nature is renovated by the succession of one generation to another; but the idea of procreation includes in it that of two persons, and from the conjunction of two persons these people imagine every thing in the universe either originally or derivatively to proceed.

The supreme deity, one of these two first beings, they call Taroataihetoomoo, and the other, whom they suppose to have been a rock, Tepapa. A daughter of these was Tettowmatafayo, the year, or thirteen months collectively, which they never name but upon this occasion, and she, by the common father, produced the months, and the months by conjunction with each other, the days; the stars they suppose partly to be the immediate offspring of the first pair, and partly to have increased among themselves; and they have the same notion with respect to the different species of plants. Among the other progeny of Taroataihetoomoo and Tepapa, they suppose an inferior race of deities whom they call Eatuas. Two of these Eatuas, they say, at some remote period of time, inhabited the earth, and were the parents of the first man. When this man, their common ancestor, was born, they say that he was round like a ball, but that his mother, with great care drew out his limbs, and having at length moulded him into his present form, she called him Eothe, which signifies *finished*. That being prompted by the universal instinct to propagate his kind, and being able to find no female but his mother, he begot upon her a daughter, and



upon the daughter other daughters for several generations, before there was a son ; a son, however, being at length born, he, by the assistance of his sisters peopled the world.

Besides their daughter Tettowmatatayo, the first progenitors of nature had a son whom they called Tane. Taroataihetoomoo, the supreme deity, they emphatically stile the causer of earthquakes ; but their prayers are more generally addressed to Tane, whom they suppose to take a greater part in the affairs of mankind.

Their subordinate deities, or Eatuas, which are numerous, are of both sexes : the male are worshipped by the men, and the female by the women ; and each have morais to which the other sex is not admitted, though they have also morais common to both. Men perform the office of priest to both sexes, but each sex has its priests, for those who officiate for one sex do not officiate for the other.

They believe the immortality of the soul, at least its existence in a separate state, and that there are two situations of different degrees of happiness, somewhat analagous to our heaven and hell : the superior situation they call *tavirua Perai*, the other *tiahoboo*. They do not, however, consider them as places of reward and punishment, but as receptacles for different classes ; the first, for their chiefs and principal people, the other for those of inferior rank, for they do not suppose that their actions here in the least influence their future state, or indeed that they come under the cognizance of their deities at all. Their religion, therefore, if it has no influence upon their morals, is at least disinterested ; and their expressions of adoration and reverence, whether by words or actions, arise only from a humble sense of their own inferiority, and the ineffable excellence of divine perfection.

The character of the priest or Tahowa, is hereditary : the class is numerous, and consists of all ranks of people ; the chief, however, is generally the younger bro-

ther of a good family, and is respected in a degree next to their kings. Of the little knowledge that is possessed in this country, the priests have the greatest share; but it consists principally in an acquaintance with the names and ranks of different Eatuas or subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of things, which have been traditionally preserved among the order in detached sentences, of which some will repeat an incredible number, though but very few of the words that are used in their common dialect occur in them.

The priests, however, are superior to the rest of the people in the knowledge of navigation and astronomy, and indeed the name 'Tahowa signifies nothing more than a man of knowledge. As there are priests of every class, they officiate only among that class to which they belong: the priest of the inferior class is never called upon by those of superior rank, nor will the priest of the superior rank officiate for any of the inferior class.

Marriage in this island, as appeared to us, is nothing more than an agreement between the man and woman, with which the priest has no concern. Where it is contracted it appears to be pretty well kept, though sometimes the parties separate by mutual consent, and in that case a divorce takes place with as little trouble as the marriage.

But though the priesthood has laid the people under no tax for a nuptial benediction, there are two operations which it has appropriated, and from which it derives considerable advantages. One is *tattooing*, and the other circumcision, though neither of them have any connexion with religion. The tattooing has been described already. Circumcision has been adopted merely from motives of cleanliness; it cannot indeed properly be called circumcision, because the *prepuce* is not mutilated by a circular wound, but only slit through the upper part to prevent its contracting over the *glans*. As neither of these can be performed by any but a priest, and as to be without either is the

greatest disgrace, they may be considered as a claim to surplice fees like our marriages and christenings, which are cheerfully and liberally paid, not according to any settled stipend, but the rank and abilities of the parties or their friends.

The morai, as has already been observed, is at once a burying ground and a place of worship, and in this particular our churches too much resemble it. The Indian, however, approaches his morai with a reverence and humility that disgraces the christian, not because he holds any thing sacred that is there, but because he there worships an invisible divinity, for whom, though he neither hopes for reward, nor fears punishment, at his hand, he always expresses the profoundest homage and most humble adoration. I have already given a very particular description both of the morais and the altars that are placed near them. When an Indian is about to worship at the morai, or brings his offering to the altar, he always uncovers his body to the waist, and his looks and attitude are such as sufficiently express a corresponding disposition of mind.

It did not appear to us that these people are, in any instance, guilty of idolatry; at least they do not worship any thing that is the work of their hands nor any visible part of the creation. This island indeed, and the rest that lie near it, have a particular bird, some a heron, and others a king's fisher, to which they pay a peculiar regard, and concerning which they have some superstitious notions with respect to good and bad fortune, as we have of the swallow and robin-red-breast, giving them the name of Eatua, and by no means killing or molesting them; yet they never address a petition to them, or approach them with any act of adoration.

Though I dare not assert that these people, to whom the art of writing, and consequently the recording of laws, are utterly unknown, live under a regular form of government; yet a subordination is established among them, that greatly resembles the early state of

every nation in Europe under the feudal system, which secured liberty in the most licentious excess to a few, and entailed the most abject slavery upon the rest.

Their orders are, *Earee rahie*, which answers to king; *Earee*, baron *Manahouni*, vassal; and *Toutou*, villain. The *Earee rahie*, of which there are two in this island, one being the sovereign of each of the peninsulas of which it consists, is treated with great respect by all ranks, but did not appear to us to be invested with so much power as was exercised by the *Earees* in their own districts; nor indeed did we, as I have before observed, once see the sovereign of *Obereonoo*, while we were in the island. The *Earees* are lords of one or more of the districts into which each of the peninsulas is divided, of which there may be about one hundred in the whole island; and they parcel out their territories to the *Manahounies*, who cultivate each his part which he holds under the baron. The lowest class, called *Toutous*, seem to be nearly under the same circumstances as the villains in feudal governments: these do all the laborious work, they cultivate the land under the *Manahounies*, who are only nominal cultivators for the lord, they fetch wood and water, and, under the direction of the mistress of the family, dress the victuals; they also catch the fish.

Each of the *Earees* keeps a kind of court, and has a great number of attendants, chiefly the younger brothers of their own tribe; and among these some hold particular offices, but of what nature exactly we could not tell. One was called the *Eowa no l'Earee*, and another the *Whanno no l'Earee*, and these were frequently dispatched to us with messages. Of all the courts of these *Earees*, that of *Tootahah* was the most splendid, as indeed might reasonably be expected, because he administered the government for *Outou*, his nephew, who was *Earee rahie* of *Obereonoo*, and lived upon his estate. The child of the baron or *Earee*, as well as of the sovereign or *Earee rahie*, succeeds to the title and honours of the father as soon as it is born: so

that a baron, who was yesterday called Earee, and was approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments, so as to uncover the upper part of the body, is to day, if his wife was last night delivered of a child, reduced to the rank of a private man, all marks of respect being transferred to the child, if it is suffered to live, though the father still continues possessor and administrator of his estate: probably this custom has its share, among other inducements, in forming the societies called Arreoy.

If a general attack happens to be made upon the island, every district under the command of an Earre, is obliged to furnish its proportion of soldiers for the common defence. The number furnished by the principal districts, which Tupia recollected, when added together, amounted, as I have observed before, to six thousand six hundred and eighty.

Upon such occasions, the united force of the whole island is commanded in chief by the Earee rahie. Private differences between two Earees, are decided by their own people, without at all disturbing the general tranquillity.

Their weapons are slings, which they use with great dexterity, pikes headed with the stings of sting-rays, and clubs, of about six or seven feet long, made of a very hard heavy wood. Thus armed, they are said to fight with great obstinacy, which is the more likely to be true, as it is certain that they give no quarter to either man, woman, or child, who is so unfortunate as to fall into their hands during the battle, or for some hours afterwards, till their passion, which is always violent, though not lasting, has subsided.

The Earee rahie of Obereconoo, while we were here, was in perfect amity with the Earee rahie of Tiarreboo, the other peninsula, though he took himself the title of king of the whole island: this, however, produced no more jealousy in the other sovereign, than the title of king of France, - assumed by our sovereign, does in his most Christian Majesty.



In a government so rude, it cannot be expected that distributive justice should be regularly administered, and indeed where there is so little opposition of interest, in consequence of the facility with which every appetite and passion is gratified, there can be but few crimes. There is nothing like money, the common medium by which every want and every wish is supposed to be gratified by those who do not possess it; there is no apparently permanent good which either fraud or force can unlawfully obtain; and when all the crimes that are committed by the inhabitants of civilized countries, to get money, are set out of the account, not many will remain: add to this, that where the commerce with women is restrained by no law, men will seldom be under any temptation to commit adultery, especially as one woman is always less preferred to another, where they are less distinguished by personal decorations, and the adventitious circumstances which are produced by the varieties of art, and the refinements of sentiment. That they are thieves is true; but as among these people no man can be much injured or benefited by theft, it is not necessary to restrain it by such punishments, as in other countries are absolutely necessary to the very existence of civil society. Tupia, however, tells us, that adultery is sometimes committed as well as theft. In all cases where an injury has been committed, the punishment of the offender lies with the sufferer; adultery, if the parties are caught in the fact, is sometimes punished with death in the first ardour of resentment; but without circumstances of immediate provocation, the female sinner seldom suffers more than a beating. As punishment, however, is enforced by no law, nor taken into the hand of any magistrate, it is not often inflicted, except the injured party is the strongest; though the chiefs do sometimes punish their immediate dependants, for faults committed against each other, and even the dependants of others, if they are accused of any offence committed in their district.

Having now given the best description that I can of the island in its present state, and of the people, with their customs and manners, language and arts, I shall only add a few general observations, which may be of use to future navigators, if any of the ships of Great Britain should receive orders to visit it. As it produces nothing that appears to be convertible into an article of trade, and can be useful only by affording refreshments to shipping in their passage through these seas, it might be made to answer this purpose in a much greater degree, by transporting thither sheep, goats, and horned cattle, with European garden-stuff, and other useful vegetables, which there is the greatest reason to suppose will flourish in so fine a climate, and so rich a soil.

Though this and the neighbouring islands lie within the tropic of Capricorn, yet the heat is not troublesome, nor did the winds blow constantly from the east. We had frequently a fresh gale from the S.W. for two or three days, and sometimes, though very seldom, from the N.W. Tupia reported, that south westerly winds prevail in October, November, and December, and we have no doubt of the fact. When the winds are variable, they are always accompanied by a swell from the S.W. or W. S. W.; there is also a swell from the same points when it is calm, and the atmosphere loaded with clouds, which is a sure indication that the winds are variable, or westerly out at sea, for with the settled trade-wind the weather is clear.

The meeting with westerly winds, within the general limits of the eastern trade, has induced some navigators to suppose that they were near some large track of land, of which, however, I think they are no indications.

It has been found, both by us and the Dolphin, that the trade-wind, in these parts, does not extend farther to the south than twenty degrees, beyond which, we generally found a gale from the westward; and it is reasonable to suppose, that when these winds blow strong, they will drive back the easterly wind, and consequently incroach upon the limits within which

they constantly blow, and thus necessarily produce variable winds, as either happens to prevail, and a south westerly swell. This supposition is the more probable, as it is well known that the trade-winds blow but faintly for some distance within their limits, and therefore may be more easily stopped or repelled by a wind in the contrary direction : it is also well known, that the limits of the trade-winds vary not only at different seasons of the year, but sometimes at the same season, in different years.

There is therefore no reason to suppose that south westerly winds within these limits, are caused by the vicinity of large tracks of land, especially as they are always accompanied with a large swell, in the same direction in which they blow ; and we find a much greater surf beating upon the shores of the south-west side of the islands that are situated just within the limits of the trade-wind, than upon any other part of them.

The tides about these islands, are perhaps as inconsiderable as in any part of the world. A south or S. by W. moon, makes high water in the bay of Matarai at Otaheite ; but the water very seldom rises perpendicularly above ten or twelve inches.

The variation of the compass I found to be  $4^{\circ} 46'$  easterly, this being the result of a great number of trials made with four of Dr. Knight's needles, adapted to azimuth compasses. These compasses I thought the best that could be procured, yet when applied to the meridian line, I found them to differ not only one from another, sometimes a degree and an half, but the same needle, half a degree from itself in different trials made on the same day ; and I do not remember that I have ever found two needles which exactly agreed at the same time and place, though I have often found the same needle agree with itself, in several trials made one after the other. This imperfection of the needle, however, is of no consequence to navigation, as the variation can always be found to a degree of accuracy, more than sufficient for all nautical purposes.

## CHAP. XX.

*A Description of several other Islands in the Neighbourhood of Otaheite, with various Incidents; a dramatic Entertainment; and many particulars relative to the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants.*

AFTER parting with our friends, we made an easy sail, with gentle breezes and clear weather, and were informed by Tupia, that four of the neighbouring islands, which he distinguished by the names of Huaheine, Uletea, Otaha, and Bolabola, lay at the distance of between one and two days sail from Otaheite; and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, with which we had of late been but sparingly supplied, were there to be procured in great plenty; but having discovered from the hills of Otaheite, an island lying to the northward, which he called Tethuroa, I determined first to stand that way, to take a nearer view of it. It lies N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant eight leagues from the northern extremity of Otaheite, upon which we had observed the transit, and to which we had, for that reason, given the name of Point Venus. We found it to be a small low island, and were told by Tupia, that it had no settled inhabitants, but was occasionally visited by the inhabitants of Otaheite, who sometimes went thither for a few days to fish; we therefore determined to spend no more time in a farther examination of it, but to go in search of Huaheine and Ulietea, which he described to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the westernmost part of Eimeo, or York island, bore S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and the body of Otaheite E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. At noon, the body of York island bore E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and Port-Royal bay, at Otaheite, S.  $70^{\circ} 45'$  E. distant 61 miles; and an island which we took to be Saunders's Island, called by the natives Tapoamanoa, bore S. S. West. We



VIEW OF HUAHEINE.



Al  
b  
n  
t

AF  
sail,  
info  
isla  
heir  
of b  
that  
we  
to b  
from  
war  
stan  
N.  
trer  
trar  
the  
low  
tled  
inhab  
for  
spe  
to  
des  
A  
erm  
and  
of  
bay  
an i  
led

also saw land bearing N. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. which Tupia said was Huaheine.

On the 15th, it was hazy, with light breezes, and calms succeeding each other, so that we could see no land, and made but little way. Our Indian, Tupia, often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boasted of his success, which indeed he took a very effectual method to secure, for he never began his address to Tane, till he saw a breeze so near that he knew it must reach the ship before his oraison was well over.

On the 16th, we had a gentle breeze; and in the morning about eight o'clock, being close in with the north-west part of the island Huaheine, we sounded, but had no bottom with 80 fathom. Some canoes very soon came off, but the people seemed afraid, and kept at a distance till they discovered Tupia, and then they ventured nearer. In one of the canoes that came up to the ship's side, was the king of the island and his wife. Upon assurances of friendship, frequently and earnestly repeated, their majesties and some others came on board. At first they were struck with astonishment, and wondered at every thing that was shewn them; yet they made no enquiries, and seeming to be satisfied with what was offered to their notice, they made no search after other objects of curiosity, with which it was natural to suppose a building of such novelty and magnitude as the ship must abound. After some time, they became more familiar. I was given to understand, that the name of the king was Oree, and he proposed, as a mark of amity, that we should exchange names. To this I readily consented; and he was Cookee, for so he pronounced my name, and I was Oree, for the rest of the time we were together. We found these people to be very nearly the same with those of Otaheite, in person, dress, language, and every other circumstance, except, if Tupia might be believed, that they would not steal.

Soon after dinner, we came to an anchor, in a small

but excellent harbour on the west side of the island, which the natives call Owharre, in eighteen fathom water, clear ground, and secure from all winds. I went immediately ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, Tupia, King Cooke, and some other of the natives who had been on board ever since the morning. The moment we landed, Tupia stripped himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to do the same: he then sat down before a great number of the natives, who were collected together in a large house or shed; for here, as well as at Otaheite, a house consists only of a roof supported upon poles; the rest of us, by his desire, standing behind. He then began a speech or prayer which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the king who stood over against him every now and then answering in what appeared to be set responses. In the course of this harangue he delivered at different times two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads, two small bunches of feathers, and some plantains, as presents to their Eatua, or God. In return for these, he received for our Eatua, a hog, some young plantains, and two small bunches of feathers, which he ordered to be carried on board the ship. After these ceremonies, which we supposed to be the ratification of a treaty between us, every one was dismissed to go whither he pleased; and Tupia immediately repaired to offer his oblations at one of the morais.

The next morning, we went on shore again, and walked up the hills, where the productions were exactly the same as those of Otaheite, except that the rocks and clay appeared to be more burnt. The houses were neat, and the boat-houses remarkably large; one that we measured was fifty paces long, ten broad, and twenty-four feet high; the whole formed a pointed arch, like those of our old cathedrals, which was supported on one side by twenty-six, and on the other by thirty pillars, or rather posts, about two feet high, and one thick, upon most of which were rudely carved

the heads of men, and several fanciful devices, not altogether unlike those which we sometimes see printed from wooden blocks, at the beginning and end of old books. The plains, or flat part of the country, abounded in bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut trees; in some places, however, there were salt swamps and lagoons, which would produce neither.

We went again ashore on the 18th, and would have taken the advantage of Tupia's company, in our perambulation; but he was too much engaged with his friends: we took however his boy, whose name was Tayeto, and Mr. Banks went to take a farther view of what had much engaged his attention before; it was a kind of chest or ark, the lid of which was nicely sewed on, and thatched very neatly with palm-nut leaves: it was fixed upon two poles, and supported on little arches of wood, very neatly carved; the use of the poles seemed to be to remove it from place to place, in the manner of our sedan chairs: in one end of it was a square hole, in the middle of which was a ring touching the sides, and leaving the angles open, so as to form a round hole within a square one. The first time Mr. Banks saw this coffer, the aperture at the end was stopped with a piece of cloth, which, lest he should give offence, he left untouched; probably there was then something within, but now the cloth was taken away, and upon looking into it, it was found empty. The general resemblance between this repository and the Ark of the Lord among the Jews is remarkable; but it is still more remarkable, that upon enquiring of the boy what it was called, he said, *Ewharre no Eatua*, the house of the God: he could however give no account of its signification or use. We had commenced a kind of trade with the natives, but it went on slowly; for when any thing was offered, not one of them would take it upon his own judgment, but collected the opinions of twenty or thirty people, which could not be done without great

loss of time. We got, however, eleven pigs, and determined to try for more the next day.

The next day therefore, we brought out some hatchets, for which we hoped we should have had no occasion, upon an island which no European had ever visited before. These procured us three very large hogs; and as we proposed to sail in the afternoon, King Oree and several others came on board to take their leave. To the King I gave a small plate of pewter, on which was stamped this inscription, His Britannic Majesty's ship, Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook Commander, 16th July 1769, Huaheine. I gave him also some medals or counters, resembling the coin of England, struck in the year 1761, with some other presents; and he promised that with none of these, particularly the plate, he would ever part. I thought it as lasting a testimony of our having first discovered this island, as any we could leave behind; and having dismissed our visitors well satisfied, and in great good-humour, we set sail, about half an hour after two in the afternoon.

The island of Huaheine, or Huahene, is situated in the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 43'$  S., and longitude  $150^{\circ} 52'$  W. from Greenwich; it is distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, in the direction of N. 58 W. and is about seven leagues in compass. Its surface is hilly and uneven, and it has a safe and commodious harbour. The harbour which is called by the natives Owalle, or Owharre, lies on the west side, under the northermost high land, and within the north end of the reef, which lies along that side of the island; there are two inlets or openings, by which it may be entered, through the reef, about a mile and a half distant from each other; the southermost is the widest, and on the south side of it lies a very small sandy island.

Huaheine seems to be a month forwarder in its productions than Otaheite, as we found the cocoa-nuts full of kernel, and some of the new bread fruit fit to eat. Of the cocoa-nuts the inhabitants make a food,



which they call *poe*, by mixing them with yams; they scrape both fine, and having incorporated the powder, they put it into a wooden trough, with a number of hot stones, by which an oily kind of hasty pudding is made, that our people relished very well, especially when it is fried. Mr. Banks found not more than eleven or twelve new plants; but he observed some insects, and a species of scorpion which he had not seen before.

The inhabitants seem to be larger made, and more stout, than those of Otaheite. Mr. Banks measured one of the men, and found him to be six feet three inches and an half high; yet they are so lazy, that he could not persuade any of them to go up the hills with him: they said, if they were to attempt it, the fatigue would kill them. The women were very fair, more so than those of Otaheite; and in general, we thought them more handsome, though none that were equal to some individuals. Both sexes seemed to be less timid, and less curious: it has been observed, that they made no enquiries on board the ship; and when we fired a gun, they were frightened indeed, but they did not fall down, as our friends at Otaheite constantly did when we first came among them. For this difference, however, we can easily account upon other principles; the people at Huaheine had not seen the Dolphin, those at Otaheite had. In one the report of a gun was connected with the idea of instant destruction; to the other, there was nothing dreadful in it but the appearance and the sound, as they had never experienced its power of dispensing death.

While we were on shore, we found that Tupia had commended them beyond their merit, when he said that they would not steal; for one of them was detected in the fact. But when he was seized by the hair, the rest, instead of running away, as the people at Otaheite would have done, gathered round, and enquired what provocation had been given: but this also may be accounted for without giving them credit for superior

courage ; they had no experience of the consequence of European resentment, which the people at Otaheite had in many instances purchased with life. It must however be acknowledged, to their honour, that when they understood what had happened, they showed strong signs of disapprobation, and prescribed a good beating for the thief, which was immediately administered.

We now made sail for the island of Ulietea, which lies S. W. by W. distant seven or eight leagues from Huaheine, and at half an hour after six in the evening we were within three leagues of the shore, on the eastern side. We stood off and on all night, and when the day broke the next morning, we stood in for the shore : we soon after discovered an opening in the reef which lies before the island, within which Tupia told us there was a good harbour. I did not, however, implicitly take his word ; but sent the master out in the pinnace to examine it : he soon made the signal for the ship to follow ; we accordingly stood in, and anchored in two and twenty fathom, with soft ground.

The natives soon came off to us in two canoes, each of which brought a woman and a pig. The woman we supposed was a mark of confidence, and the pig was a present ; we received both with proper acknowledgments, and complimented each of the ladies with a spike nail and some beads, much to their satisfaction. We were told by Tupia, who had always expressed much fear of the men of Bolabola, that they had made a conquest of this island ; and that, if we remained here, they would certainly come down to-morrow, and fight us. We determined, therefore, to go on shore without delay, while the day was our own.

I landed in company with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the other gentlemen, Tupia being also of the party. He introduced us by repeating the ceremonies which he had performed at Huaheine, after which I hoisted an English jack, and took possession of this and the three neighbouring islands, Huaheine, Otaheite,

and Bolabola, which were all in sight, in the name of his Britannic Majesty. After this we took a walk to a great morai, called Tapodeboatea. We found it very different from those of Otaheite; for it consisted only of four walls, about eight feet high, of coral stones, some of which were of an immense size, inclosing an area of about five and twenty yards square, which was filled up with smaller stones: upon the top of it many planks were set up an end, which were carved in their whole length: at a little distance we found an altar, or ewhatta, upon which lay the last oblation or sacrifice, a hog of about eighty pounds weight, which had been offered whole, and very nicely roasted. Here were also four or five Ewharre-no-Eatua, or houses of God, to which carriage poles were fitted, like that which we had seen at Huaheine. One of these Mr. Banks examined by putting his hand into it, and found a parcel about five feet long and one thick, wrapped up in matts: he broke away through several of these matts with his fingers, but at length came to one which was made of the fibres of the co. coa-nut, so firmly plaited together that he found it impossible to tear it, and therefore was forced to desist; especially as he perceived, that what he had done already gave great offence to our new friends. From hence we went to a long house, not far distant, where among rolls of cloth, and several other things, we saw the model of a canoe, about three feet long, to which were tied eight human jaw-bones: we had already learnt that these, like scalps among the Indians of North America, were trophies of war. Tupia affirmed that they were the jaw-bones of the natives of this island; if so they might have been hung up, with the model of a canoe, as a symbol of invasion, by the warriors of Bolabola, as a memorial of their conquest.

Night now came on apace, but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander continued their walk along the shore, and at a little distance saw another Ewharre-no-Eatua, and a tree of the fig kind, the same as that which Mr. Green-

had seen at Otaheite, in great perfection, the trunk, or rather congeries of the roots of which was forty-two paces in circumference.

On the 21st, having dispatched the master in the long-boat to examine the coast of the south part of the island, and one of the mates in the yawl, to sound the harbour where the ship lay, I went myself in the pinnace, to survey that part of the island which lies to the north. Mr. Banks and the gentlemen were again on shore, trading with the natives, and examining the products and curiosities of the country; they saw nothing, however, worthy notice, but some more jaw-bones, of which they made no doubt but that the account they had heard was true.

On the 22d and 23d, having strong gales and hazy weather, I did not think it safe to put to sea; but on the 24th, though the wind was still variable, I got under sail, and plyed to the northward within the reef, with a view to go out at a wider opening than that by which I had entered; in doing this, however, I was unexpectedly in the most imminent danger of striking on the rock: the Master, whom I had ordered to keep continually sounding in the chains, suddenly called out, "two fathom." This alarmed me, for though I knew, the ship drew at least fourteen feet, and that therefore it was impossible such a shoal should be under her keel; yet the master was either mistaken, or she went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which, in the neighbourhood of these islands, are as steep as a wall.

This harbour or bay is called by the natives Oapoa, and taken in its greatest extent, it is capable of holding any number of shipping. It extends almost the whole length of the east side of the island, and is defended from the sea by a reef of coral rocks: the southernmost opening in this reef, or channel into the harbour, by which we entered, is little more than a cable's length wide; it lies off the easternmost point of the island, and may be known by another small woody

island, which lies a little to the south-east of it, called by the people here Oatara. Between three and four miles north west from this island lie two other islets, in the same direction as the reef of which they are a part called Opururu and Tamou; between these lies the other channel into the harbour, through which I went out, and which is a full quarter of a mile wide. Still farther to the north west are some other small islands, near which I am told there is another small channel into the harbour; but this I know only by report.

The principal refreshments that are to be procured at this part of the island are, plantains, cocoa-nuts, yams, hogs, and fowls; the hogs and fowls, however, are scarce; and the country, where we saw it, is neither so populous, nor so rich in produce as Otaheite, or even Huaheine. Wood and water may also be procured here; but the water cannot conveniently be got at.

We were now again at sea, without having received any interruption from the hostile inhabitants of Bolabola, whom, notwithstanding the fears of Tupia, we intended to visit. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, we were within a league of Otaha, which bore N. 77 W. To the northward of the south end of that island, on the east side of it, and something more than a mile from the shore, lie two small islands, called Toahoutu and Whennuaia; between which Tupia says there is a channel into a very good harbour, which lies within the reef, and appearances confirmed his report.

As I discovered a broad channel between Otaha and Bolabola, I determined rather to go through it, than run to the northward of all; but the wind being right a-head, I got no ground.

Between five and six in the evening of the 26th, as I was standing to the northward, I discovered a small low island, lying N. by W. or N. N. W. distant four or five leagues from Bolabola. We were told by Tupia that the name of this island is Tubai; that it



produces nothing but cocoa-nuts, and is inhabited only by three families; though it is visited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, who resort thither to catch fish, with which the coast abounds.

On the 27th, about noon, the peak of Bolabola bore N. 25 W. and the north end of Otaha, N. 80 W. distant three leagues. The wind continued contrary all this day and the night following. On the 28th, at six in the morning, we were near the entrance of the harbour on the east side of Otaha, which has been just mentioned; and finding that it might be examined without losing time, I sent away the master in the long-boat, with orders to sound it; and, if the wind did not shift in our favour, to land upon the island, and traffic with the natives for such refreshments as were to be had. In this boat went Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who landed upon the island, and before night purchased three hogs, twenty-one fowls, and as many yams and plantains as the boat would hold. Plantains we thought a more useful refreshment even than pork; for they were boiled and served to the ship's company as bread, and were now the more acceptable as our bread was so full of vermin, that notwithstanding all possible care, we had sometimes twenty of them in our mouths at a time, every one of which tasted as hot as mustard. The island seemed to be more barren than Ulietea, but the produce was of the same kind. The people also exactly resembled those that we had seen at the other islands; they were not numerous, but they flocked about the boat wherever she went from all quarters, bringing with them whatever they had to sell. They paid the strangers, of whom they had received an account from Tupia, the same compliment which they used towards their own kings, uncovering their shoulders, and wrapping their garments round their breasts; and were so solicitous to prevent its being neglected by any of their people, that a man was sent with them, who called out to every one they met, telling him what they were, and what he was to do.

In the mean time, I kept plying off and on, waiting for the boat's return; at half an hour after five, not seeing any thing of her, I fired a gun, and after it was dark hoisted a light; at half an hour after eight, we heard the report of a musquet, which we answered with a gun, and soon after the boat came on board. The master reported, that the harbour was safe and commodious, with good anchorage from twenty-five to sixteen fathom water, clear ground.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, I made sail to the northward, and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 29th, we were close under the Peak of Bolabola, which was high, rude, and craggy. As the island was altogether inaccessible in this part, and we found it impossible to weather it, we tacked and stood off, then tacked again, and after many trips did not weather the south end of it till twelve o'clock at night. At eight o'clock the next morning, we discovered an island, which bore from us N. 63° W. distant about eight leagues; at the same time the Peak of Bolabola bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant three or four leagues. This island Tupia called Maurua, and said that it was small, wholly surrounded by a reef, and without any harbour for shipping; but inhabited, and bearing the same produce as the neighbouring islands: the middle of it rises in a high round hill, that may be seen at the distance of ten leagues.

When we were off Bolabola, we saw but few people on shore, and were told by Tupia that many of the inhabitants were gone to Ulietea. In the afternoon we found ourselves nearly the length of the south end of Ulietea, and to windward of some harbours that lay on the west side of this island. Into one of these harbours, though we had before been ashore on the other side of the island, I intended to put, in order to stop a leak which we had sprung in the powder room, and to take in more ballast, as I found the ship too light to carry sail upon a wind. As the wind was right against us, we plied off one of the harbours, and about three

o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of August, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel leading into it in fourteen fathom water, being prevented from working in, by a tide which set very strong out. We then carried out the kedge-anchor, in order to warp into the harbour; but when this was done, we could not trip the bower-anchor with all the purchase we could make; we were therefore obliged to lie still all night, and in the morning, when the tide turned, the ship going over the anchor, it tripped of itself, and we warped the ship into a proper birth with ease, and moored in twenty-eight fathom, with a sandy bottom. While this was doing many of the natives came off to us with hogs, fowls, and plantains, which they parted with at an easy rate.

When the ship was secured, I went on shore to look for a proper place to get ballast and water, both which I found in a very convenient situation.

This day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander spent on shore very much to their satisfaction; every body seemed to fear and respect them, placing in them at the same time the utmost confidence, behaving as if conscious that they possessed the power of doing them mischief, without any propensity to make use of it. Men, women and children crowded round them, and followed them wherever they went: but none of them were guilty of the least incivility: on the contrary, wherever there happened to be dirt or water in the way, the men vied with each other to carry them over on their backs. They were conducted to the houses of the principal people, and were received in a manner altogether new: the people, who followed them while they were in their way, rushed forward as soon as they came to a house, and went hastily in before them, leaving however a lane sufficiently wide for them to pass. When they entered, they found those who had preceded them ranged on each side of a long mat, which was spread upon the ground, and at the farther end of which sat the family: in the first house they

entered they found some very young women or children, dressed with the utmost neatness, who kept their station, expecting the strangers to come up to them and make them presents, which they did with the greatest pleasure ; for prettier children or better dressed they had never seen. One of them was a girl about six years old ; her gown or upper garment was red ; a large quantity of plaited hair was wound round her head, the ornament to which they give the name of tamou, and which they value more than any thing they possess. She sat at the upper end of a matt thirty feet long, upon which none of the spectators presumed to set a foot, notwithstanding the crowd ; and she leaned upon the arm of a well-looking woman about thirty, who was probably her nurse. Our gentlemen walked up to her, and as soon as they approached, she stretched out her hand to receive the beads which they offered her, and no princess in Europe could have done it with a better grace.

The people were so much gratified by the presents which were made to these girls, that when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returned they seemed attentive to nothing but how to oblige them ; and in one of the houses they were, by order of the master, entertained with a dance, different from any that they had seen. It was performed by one man, who put upon his head a large cylindrical piece of wicker-work, or basket, about four feet long and eight inches in diameter, which was faced with feathers, placed perpendicularly, with the tops bending forwards, and edged round with shark's teeth, and the tail-feathers of Tropic birds ; when he had put on this head-dress, which is called a *whow*, he began to dance, moving slowly, and often turning his head so as that the top of his high wicker-cap described a circle, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the spectators as to make them start back : this was held among them as a very good joke, and never failed to produce a peal of laughter, especially when it was played off upon one of the strangers.

On the 3d, we went along the shore to the northward, which was in a direction opposite to that of the route Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had taken the day before, with a design to purchase stock, which we always found the people more ready to part with, and at a more easy price, at their houses than at the market. In the course of our walk we met with a company of dancers, who detained us two hours, and during all that time afforded us great entertainment. The company consisted of two women dancers, and six men, with three drums; we were informed by Tupia, that they were some of the most considerable people of the island, and that though they were continually going from place to place, they did not, like the little strolling companies of Otaheite, take any gratuity from the spectators. The women had upon their heads a considerable quantity of Tamou, or plaited hair, which was brought several times round the head, and adorned in many parts with the flowers of the cape-jessamine, which were stuck in with much taste, and made a head-dress truly elegant. Their necks, shoulders, and arms were naked; so were the breasts also as low as the parting of the arm; below that they were covered with black cloth, which set close to the body; at the side of each breast, next the arm, was placed a small plume of black feathers, much in the same manner as our ladies now wear their nosegays or *bouquets*; upon their hips rested a quantity of cloth plaited very full, which reached up to the breast, and fell down below into long petticoats, which quite concealed their feet, and which they managed with as much dexterity as our opera dancers could have done; the plaits above the waist were brown and white alternately, the petticoats below were all white.

In this dress they advanced sideways in a measured step, keeping excellent time to the drums, which beat briskly and loud; soon after they began to shake their hips, giving the folds of cloth that lay upon them a very quick motion, which was in some degree con-



tinued through the dance, though the body was thrown into various postures, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, and sometimes resting on their knees and elbows, the fingers also being moved at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be imagined. Much of the dexterity of the dancers, however, and the entertainment of the spectators, consisted in the wantonness of their attitudes and gestures, which was indeed, such as exceeds all description.

One of these girls had in her ear three pearls; one of them was very large, but so foul that it was of little value; the other two were as big as a middling pea; these were clear, and of a good colour and shape, though spoiled by the drilling. Mr. Banks would fain have purchased them, and offered the owner any thing she would ask for them, but she could not be persuaded to part with them at any price: he tempted her with the value of four hogs, and whatever else she should chuse, but without success; and indeed they set a value upon their pearls very nearly equal to what they would fetch among us, except they could be procured before they are drilled.

Between the dances of the women, the men performed a kind of dramatic interlude, in which there was dialogue as well as dancing; but we were not sufficiently acquainted with their language to understand the subject.

On the 4th, some of our gentlemen saw a much more regular entertainment of the dramatic kind, which was divided into four acts.

Tupia had often told us that he had large possessions in this island, which had been taken away from him by the inhabitants of Bolabolā, and he now pointed them out in the very bay where the ship was at anchor. Upon our going on shore, this was confirmed by the inhabitants, who shewed us several districts or whenuas, which they acknowledged to be his right.

On the 5th I received a present of three hogs, some fowls, several pieces of cloth, the largest we had seen

being fifty yards long, which they unfolded and displayed so as to make the greatest show possible; and a considerable quantity of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments, from Opoony, the formidable king, or, in the language of the country, Earee rahie, of Bolabola, with a message that he was at this time upon the island, and that the next day he intended to pay me a visit.

In the mean time Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went upon the hills, accompanied by several of the Indians, who conducted them by excellent paths, to such a height, that they plainly saw the other side of the island, and the passage through which the ship had passed the reef between the little islands of Opururu and Tamou, when we landed upon it the first time. As they were returning, they saw the Indians exercising themselves at what they call *Erowhaw*, which is nothing more than pitching a kind of light lance, headed with hard wood, at a mark: in this amusement, though they seem very fond of it, they do not excel, for not above one in twelve struck the mark, which was the bole of a plantain tree, at about twenty yards distance.

On the 6th we all staid at home, expecting the visit of the great king, but we were disappointed: we had, however, much more agreeable company, for he sent three very pretty girls to demand something in return for his present: perhaps he was unwilling to trust himself on board the ship, or perhaps, he thought his messengers would procure a more valuable return for his hogs and poultry than he could himself; be that as it may, we did not regret his absence, nor his messengers their visit.

In the afternoon, as the great king would not come to us, we determined to go to the great king. As he was lord of the Bolobola men, the conquerors of this, and the terror of all the other islands, we expected to see a chief young and vigorous, with an intelligent countenance, and an enterprising spirit: we

found, however, a poor feeble wretch, withered and decrepit, half blind with age, and so sluggish and stupid that he appeared scarcely to have understanding enough left to know that it was probable we should be gratified either by hogs or women. He did not receive us sitting, or with any state or formality as the other chiefs had done : we made him our present, which he accepted, and gave a hog in return. We had learnt that his principal residence was at Otaha ; and upon our telling him that we intended to go thither in our boats the next morning, and that we should be glad to have him along with us, he promised to be of the party.

Early in the morning, therefore, I set out both with the pinnace and long-boat for Otaha, having some of the gentlemen with me ; and in our way we called upon Opoony, who was in his canoe, ready to join us. As soon as we landed at Otaha, I made him a present of an ax, which I thought might induce him to encourage his subjects to bring us such provision as we wanted, but in this we found ourselves sadly disappointed, for after staying with him till noon, we left him without being able to procure a single article. I then proceeded to the north point of the island, in the pinnace, having sent the long-boat another way. As I went along I picked up half a dozen hogs, as many fowls, and some plantains and yams. Having viewed and sketched the harbour on this side of the island, I made the best of my way back, with the long-boat, which joined me soon after it was dark ; and about ten o'clock at night we got on board the ship.

In this excursion, Mr. Banks was not with us ; he spent the morning on board the ship, trading with the natives, who came off in their canoes, for provisions and curiosities ; and in the afternoon he went on shore with his draughtsmen, to sketch the dresses of the dancers which he had seen a day or two before. He

found the company exactly the same, except that another woman had been added to it, the dancing also of the women was the same, but the interludes of the men were somewhat varied; he saw five or six performed, which were different from each other, and very much resembled the drama of our stage dances. The next day he went ashore again, with Dr. Solander, and they directed their course toward the dancing company, which, from the time of our second landing, had gradually moved about two leagues in their course round the island. They saw more dancing and more interludes, the interludes still varying from each other; in one of them the performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, which were distinguished from each other by the colour of their cloaths, one being brown, and the other white. The brown party represented a master and servants, and the white party a company of thieves: the master gave a basket of meat to the rest of his party, with a charge to take care of it, the dance of the white party consisted of several expedients to steal it, and that of the brown party in preventing their success. After some time, those who had charge of the basket placed themselves round it, upon the ground, and leaning upon it, appeared to go to sleep: the others, improving their opportunity, came gently upon them, and lifting them up from the basket, carried off their prize: the sleepers soon after awaking, missed the basket, but presently fell a dancing, without any farther regarding their loss; so that the dramatic action of this dance was, according to the severest laws of criticism, one, and our lovers of simplicity would here have been gratified with an entertainment perfectly suited to the chastity of their taste.

On the 9th, having spent the morning in trading with the canoes, we took the opportunity of a breeze, which sprung up at east, and having stopped our leak, and got the fresh stock which we had purchased on board, we sailed out of the harbour. When we were sailing

away, Tupia strongly urged me to fire a shot towards Bolabola, possibly as a mark of his resentment, and to shew the power of his new allies: in this I thought proper to gratify him, though we were seven leagues distant.

While we were about these islands, we expended very little of the ship's provisions, and were very plentifully supplied with hogs, fowls, plantains and yams, which we hoped would have been of great use to us in our course to the southward, but the hogs would not eat European grain of any kind, pulse, or bread-dust, so that we could not preserve them alive: and the fowls were all very soon seized with a disease that affected the head so, that they continued to hold it down between their legs till they died: much dependence therefore, must not be placed in live stock, taken on board at these places, at least not till a discovery is made of some food that the hogs will eat, and some remedy for the disease of the poultry.

Having been necessarily detained at Ulietea so long by the carpenters in stopping our leak, we determined to give up our design of going on shore at Bolabola, especially as it appeared to be difficult of access.

To these six islands, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua, as they lie contiguous to each other, I gave the names of Society Islands, but did not think it proper to distinguish them separately by any other names than those by which they were known to the natives.

They are situated between the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 10'$  and  $16^{\circ} 55' S.$  and between the longitude of  $150^{\circ} 57'$  and  $152^{\circ} W.$  from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha, lie within about two miles of each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for sipping between them. This reef forms several excellent harbours; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow, yet when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The



harbours on the east side have been described already ; and on the west side of Ulietea, which is the largest of the two, there are three. The northermost, in which we lay, is called Ohamaneno : the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands, which are the northernmost on this side ; between, or just within, the two islands, there is good anchorage in twenty-eight fathom, soft ground. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. The other two harbours lie to the southward of this, and not far from the south end of the island : in both of them there is good anchorage, with ten, twelve, and fourteen fathom. They are easily known by three small woody islands at their entrance. The southernmost of these two harbours lies within, and to the southward of the southernmost of these islands, and the other lies between the two northernmost. I was told that there were more harbours at the south end of this island, but I did not examine whether the report was true.

Otaha affords two very good harbours, one on the east side, and the other on the west. That on the east side is called Ohamene, and has been mentioned already ; the other is called Oherurua, and lies about the middle of the south-west side of the island ; it is pretty large, and affords good anchorage in twenty and twenty-five fathom, nor is there any want of fresh water. The breach in the reef, that forms a channel into this harbour, is about a quarter of a mile broad, and like all the rest is very steep on both sides ; in general there is no danger here but what is visible.

The island of Bolabola lies north west and by west from Otaha, distant about four leagues ; it is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. I was told, that on the south west side of the island there is a channel through the reef into a very good harbour,

but I did not think it worth while to examine it, for the reasons that have been just assigned. The island is rendered very remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one higher than the other.

The land of Ulietea and Otaha is hilly, broken, and irregular, except on the sea-coast, yet the hills look green and pleasant, and are in many places clothed with wood. The several particulars in which these islands and their inhabitants differ from what we had observed at Otaheite, have been mentioned in the course of the narrative.

We pursued our course without any event worthy of note till the 13th, about noon, when we saw land bearing south east, which Tupia told us was an island called Oheteroa. About six in the evening, we were within two or three leagues of it, upon which I shortened sail, and stood off and on all night; the next morning stood in for the land. We ran to leeward of the island, keeping close in shore, and saw several of the natives, though in no great numbers, upon the beach. At nine o'clock I sent Mr. Gore, one of my lieutenants, in the pinnace, to endeavour to land upon the island, and learn from the natives whether there was anchorage in a bay then in sight, and what land lay farther to the southward. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander accompanied Mr. Gore in this expedition, and as they thought Tupia might be useful, they took him with them.

As the boat approached the shore, those on board perceived the natives to be armed with long lances; as they did not intend to land till they got round a point which run out at a little distance, they stood along the coast, and the natives therefore very probably thought they were afraid of them. They had now got together to the number of about sixty, and all of them sat down upon the shore, except two, who were dispatched forward to observe the motions of those in the boat. These men, after walking a-breast of

her some time, at length leaped into the water, and swam towards her, but weresoon left behind ; two more then appeared, and attempted to board her in the same manner, but they also were soon left behind ; a fifth man then ran forward alone, and having got a good way a-head of the boat before he took to the water, easily reached her. Mr. Banks urged the officer to take him in, thinking it a good opportunity to get a confidence and good will of a people, who then certainly looked upon them as enemies, but he obstinately refused : this man therefore, was left behind like the others, and so was a sixth, who followed him.

When the boat had got round the point, she perceived that all her followers had desisted from the pursuit : she now opened a large bay, at the bottom of which appeared another body of men, armed with long lances like the first. Here our people prepared to land, and pushed towards the shore, a canoe at the same time putting off to meet them. As soon as they came near them, they lay upon their oars, and calling out to them, told them that they were friends, and that if they would come up they would give them nails, which were held up for them to see, after some hesitation, they came up to the boat's stern, and took some nails that were offered them, with great seeming satisfaction ; but in less than a minute they appeared to have formed a design of boarding the boat, and making her their prize ; three of them suddenly leaped into it, and the others brought up the canoe, which the motion in quitting her had thrown off a little, manifestly with a design to follow their associates, and support them in their attempt. The first that boarded the boat entered close to Mr. Banks, and instantly snatched his powder horn out of his pocket ; Mr. Banks seized it, and with some difficulty wrenched it out of his hand, at the same time pressing against his breast in order to force him over-board, but he was too strong for him and kept his place, the officer then snapped his piece, but it missed fire, upon which he ordered some of the people to fire over their heads ;

they all instantly leaped into the water: one of the people either from cowardice, or cruelty, or both, levelled a third piece at one of them as he was swimming away, and the ball grazed his forehead; happily, however, the wound was very slight, for he recovered the canoe, and stood up in her as active and vigorous as the rest. The canoe immediately stood in for the shore, where a great number of people, not less than two hundred, were now assembled. The boat also pushed in, but found the land guarded all round with a shoal, upon which the sea broke with a considerable surf; it was therefore thought advisable by the officer to proceed along shore in search of a more convenient landing-place: in the mean time the people on board saw the canoe go on shore, and the natives gather eagerly round her to enquire the particulars of what had happened. Soon after, a single man ran along the shore, armed with his lance, and when he came abreast of the boat he began to dance, brandish his weapon, and call out in a very shrill tone, which Tupia said was a defiance from the people. The boat continued to row along the shore, and the champion followed it, repeating his defiance by his voice and his gestures; but no better landing-place being found than that where the canoe had put the natives on shore, the officer returned back with a view to attempt it there, hoping, that if it should not be practicable, the people would come to a conference either on the shoals or in their canoes, and that a treaty of peace might be concluded with them.

As the boat rowed slowly along the shore back again, another champion came down, shouting defiance, and brandishing his lance: his appearance was more formidable than that of the other, for he wore a large cap made of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, and his body was covered with stripes of different coloured cloth, yellow, red, and brown. This gentleman also danced, but with much more nimbleness and dexterity than the first; our people therefore, considering his

agility and his dress, distinguished him by the name of Harlequin. Soon after a more grave and elderly man came down to the beach, and hailing the people in the boat, enquired who they were, and from whence they came; Tupia answered in their own language, from Otaheite: the three natives then walked peaceably along the shore till they came to a shoal, upon which a few people were collected; here they stopped, and after a short conference, they all began to pray very loud: Tupia made his responses, but continued to tell us that they were not our friends. When their prayer, or, as they call it, their *Poorah*, was over, our people entered into a parley with them, telling them that if they would lay by their lances and clubs, for some had one and some the other, they would come on shore, and trade with them for whatever they would bring: they agreed, but it was only upon condition that we would leave behind us our musquets: this was a condition which, however equitable it might appear, could not be complied with, nor indeed would it have put the two parties upon an equality, except their numbers had been equal. Here then the negociation seemed to be at an end; but in a little time they ventured to come nearer to the boat, and at last came near enough to trade, which they did very fairly, for a small quantity of their cloth and some of their weapons; but as they gave our people no hope of provisions, nor indeed any thing else except they would venture through a narrow channel to the shore, which, all circumstances considered, they did not think it prudent to do, they put off the boat and left them.

With the ship and the boat we had now made the circuit of the island, and finding that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it, and that the hostile disposition of the people would render landing impracticable, without bloodshed, I determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life.

The bay which the boat entered lies on the west side



of the island, the bottom was foul and rocky, but the water so clear that it could plainly be seen at the depth of five and twenty fathom, which is one hundred and fifty feet.

This island is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 27' S.$  and in the longitude of  $150^{\circ} 47' W.$  from the meridian of Greenwich. It is thirteen miles in circuit, and rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands that we had seen in these seas. The chief produce seems to be the tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language *Etoa*; many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef.

The people seemed to be lusty and well made, rather browner than those we had left; under their arm-pits they had black marks about as broad as the hand, the edges of which formed not a strait but an indented line: they had also circles of the same colour, but not so broad, round their arms and legs, but were not marked on any other part of the body.

Their dress was very different from any that we had seen before, as well as the cloth of which it was made. The cloth was of the same materials as that which is worn in the other islands, and most of that which was seen by our people was dyed of a bright but deep yellow, and covered on the outside with a composition like varnish, which was either red, or of a dark lead-colour; over this ground it was again painted in stripes of many different patterns, with wonderful regularity, in the manner of our striped silks in England; the cloth that was painted red was striped with black, and that which was painted lead-colour with white. Their habit was a short jacket of this cloth, which reached about as low as their knees; it was of one piece, and had no other making than a hole in the middle of it, stiched round with long stiches, in which it differed from all that we had seen before: through this hole the head was put, and what hung down was confined to

their bodies by a piece of yellow cloth or sash, which passing round the neck behind, was crossed upon the breast, and then collected round the waist like a belt, which passed over another belt of red cloth, so that they made a very gay and warlike appearance; some had caps of the feathers of the tropic bird, which have been before described, and some had a piece of white or lead-coloured cloth wound about the head like a small turban, which our people thought more becoming.

Their arms were long lances, made of the etoa, the wood of which is very hard: they were well polished and sharpened at one end: some were near twenty feet long, though not more than three fingers thick: they had also a weapon which was both club and pike, made of the same wood, about seven feet long; this also was well polished, and sharpened at one end into a broad point. As a guard against these weapons, when they attack each other, they have mats folded up many times, which they place under their clothes from the neck to the waist: the weapons themselves indeed are capable of much less mischief than those of the same kind which we saw at the other islands, for the lances were there pointed with the sharp bone of the sting-ray that is called the sting, and the pikes were of much greater weight. The other things that we saw here were all superior in their kind to any we had seen before; the cloth was of a better colour in the dye, and painted with greater neatness and taste; the clubs were better cut and polished, and the canoe, though a small one, was very rich in ornament, and the carving was executed in a better manner: among other decorations peculiar to this canoe, was a line of small white feathers, which hung from the head and stern on the outside, and which, when we saw them, were thoroughly wetted by the spray.

Tupia told us, that there were several islands lying at different distances and in different directions from this, between the south and the north west; and that

at the distance of three days sail to the north east, there was an island called Mánua, bird-island : he seemed, however, most desirous that we should sail to the westward, and described several islands in that direction which he said he had visited : he told us that he had been ten or twelve days in going thither, and thirty in coming back, and that the *pahie* in which he had made the voyage, sailed much faster than the ship : reckoning his *pahie* therefore to go at the rate of forty leagues a day, which from my own observation I have great reason to think these boats will do, it would make four hundred leagues in ten days, which I compute to be the distance of Boscawen and Keppel's islands, discovered by Captain Wallis, westward of Ulietea, and therefore think it very probable that they were the islands he had visited. The farthest island that he knew any thing of to the southward, he said, lay at the distance of about two days sail from Oteroah, and was called Moutou ; but he said that his father had told him there were islands to the southward of that : upon the whole, I was determined to stand southward in search of a continent, but to spend no time in searching for islands, if we did not happen to fall in with them during our course.

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF A  
VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.  
BOOK II.

---

CHAP. I.

*The Passage from Oteroah to New Zealand ; Incidents which happened on going ashore there, and while the Ship lay in Poverty Bay.*

WE sailed from Oteroah on the 15th of August, and on Friday the 25th, we celebrated the anniversary of our leaving England, by taking a cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good and in excellent order. On the 29th one of the sailors got so drunk that the next morning he died : we thought at first that he could not have come honestly by the liquor, but we afterwards learnt that the boatswain, whose mate he was, had in mere good-nature given him part of a bottle of rum.

On the 30th we saw the comet, at one o'clock in the morning it was a little above the horizon in the eastern part of the heavens ; at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees. Our latitude

was  $38^{\circ} 20'$  S. our longitude, by log,  $147^{\circ} 6'$  W. and the variation of the needle by the azimuth,  $7^{\circ} 9'$  E. Among others that observed the comet was Tupia, who instantly cried out, that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would kill the inhabitants of Ulietea, who would with the utmost precipitation fly to the mountains.

On the 1st of September being in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 22'$  S. and longitude  $174^{\circ} 29'$  W. and there not being any signs of land with a heavy sea from the westward, and strong gales, I wore, and stood back to the northward, fearing that we might receive such damage in our sails and rigging, as would hinder the prosecution of the voyage.

On the next day, there being strong gales to the westward, I brought to, with the ship's head to the northward; but in the morning of the 3d, the wind being more moderate, we loosened the reef of the main-sail, set the top-sails, and plied to the westward.

We continued our course till the 19th, when our latitude being  $29^{\circ}$  and our longitude  $159^{\circ} 29'$ , we observed the variation to be  $8^{\circ} 32'$  E. On the 24th, being in latitude  $33^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude  $162^{\circ} 51'$ , we observed a small piece of sea-weed, and a piece of wood covered with barnacles: the variation here was  $10^{\circ} 48'$  E.

On the 27th, being in latitude  $28^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 5'$ , we saw a seal asleep upon the water, and several bunches of sea weed. The next day we saw more sea weed in bunches, and on the 29th a bird, which we thought a land-bird; it somewhat resembled a snipe, but had a short bill. On the 1st of October we saw birds innumerable, and another seal asleep upon the water; it is a general opinion that seals never go out of soundings, or far from land, but those that we saw in these seas prove the contrary. Rock weed is, however, a certain indication that land is not far distant. The next day it being



calm, we hoisted out the boat, to try whether there was a current but found none. Our latitude was  $37^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} 54'$  W. On the 3d, being in latitude  $36^{\circ} 56'$ , longitude  $173^{\circ} 27'$ , we took up more sea weed, and another piece of wood covered with barnacles. The next day we saw two more seals and a brown bird, about as big as a raven, with some white feathers under the wing. Mr. Gore told us, that birds of this kind were seen in great numbers about Falkland's Islands, and our people gave them the name of Port-Egmont hens.

On the 5th, we thought the water changed colour, but upon casting the lead, had no ground with 180 fathom. In the evening of this day, the variation was  $12^{\circ} 50'$  E. and while we were going nine leagues it encreased to  $14^{\circ} 2'$ .

On the next day, Friday, October 6th, we saw land from the mast head, bearing W. by N. and stood directly for it; in the evening it could just be discerned from the deck, and appeared large. The variation this day was by azimuth and amplitude  $15^{\circ} 4' \frac{1}{2}$  E. and by observation made of the sun and moon, the longitude of the ship appeared to be  $180^{\circ} 55'$  W. and by the medium of this and subsequent observations, there appeared to be an error in the ship's account of longitude during her run from Otaheite  $3^{\circ} 16'$ , she being so much to the westward of the longitude resulting from the log. At midnight I brought to and sounded, but had no ground with one hundred and seventy fathom.

On the 7th, it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills rising one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation, but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found

the *terra australis incognita*. About five o'clock we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it ; we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shore. When night came on, however, we kept plying off and on till day light, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north : we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the vallies were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south west point ; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off, at this time we saw several canoes standing cross the bay, which in a little time made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship ; we also saw some houses which appeared to be small, but neat ; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected together, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which inclosed the whole top of a hill ; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an inclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height ; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains which appeared to be far inland.

In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad, but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with,

and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the people were assembled, they all ran away; however we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men armed with long lances, rushed out of the wood, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream; the boys instantly obeyed, but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musquet over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner; the cockswain then fired a second musquet over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired which shot him dead. When he fell the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment; as soon as they recovered they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which however they soon left, that it might not incumber their flight. At the report of the first musquet we drew together, having straggled to a little distance from each other, and made the best of our way back to the boat, and crossing the river, we soon saw the Indian lying dead upon the ground. Upon examining the body, we found that he had been shot through the heart: he was a man of the middle size and stature; his complexion was brown but not very dark; and one side of his face was tattowed in spiral lines of a very regular figure; he was covered with a fine cloth, of a manufacture altogether new to us, and it was tied on exactly according to the representation in Va-

lentyn's Account of Abal Tasman's voyage, vol. iii. part 2, page 50, his hair was also tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship, where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone, probably about what had happened, and what should be done.

In the morning we saw several of the natives, where they had been seen the night before, and some walking with a quick pace towards the place where we had landed, most of them unarmed; but three or four with long pikes in their hands. As I was desirous to establish an intercourse with them, I ordered three boats to be manned with seamen and marines, and proceeded towards the shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen and Tupia; about fifty of them seemed to wait for our landing, on the opposite side of the river, which we thought a sign of fear, and seated themselves upon the ground; at first therefore myself with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia landed from the little boat, and advanced towards them; but we had not proceeded many paces before they all started up and every man produced either a long pike, or a small weapon of green talc, extremely well polished, about a foot long, and thick enough to weigh four or five pounds: Tupia called to them in the language of Otaheite; but they answered only by flourishing their weapons, and making signs to us to depart; a musquet was then fired wide of them, and the ball struck the water, the river being still between us: they saw the effect, and desisted from their threats, but we thought it prudent to retreat till the marines could be landed. This was soon done, and they marched with a jack carried before them to a little bank, about fifty yards from the water side; here they were drawn up and I again advanced with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; Tupia, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse being with us.

Tupia was again directed to speak to them, and it was with great pleasure that we perceived he was perfectly understood, he and the natives speaking only different dialects of the same language. He told them that we wanted provision and water, and would give them iron in exchange, the properties of which he explained as well as he was able. They were willing to trade, and desired that we would come over to them for that purpose; to this we consented, provided they would lay by their arms; which, however, they could by no means be persuaded to do. During this conversation, Tupia warned us to be upon our guard, for that they were not our friends; we then pressed them in our turn to come over to us, and at last one of them stripped himself, and swam over without his arms, he was almost immediately followed by two more, and soon after by most of the rest, to the number of twenty or thirty; but these brought their arms with them. We made them all presents of iron and beads, but they seemed to set little value upon either, particularly the iron, not having the least idea of its use; so that we got nothing in return but a few feathers: they offered indeed to exchange their arms for ours, and, when we refused, made many attempts to snatch them out of our hands. As soon as they came over, Tupia repeated his declaration, that they were not our friends, and again warned us to be upon our guard; their attempts to snatch our weapons, therefore, did not succeed: and we gave them to understand by Tupia, that we should be obliged to kill them if they offered any farther violence. In a few minutes, however, Mr. Green happening to turn about, one of them snatched away his hanger, and retiring to a little distance, waved it round his head, with a shout of exultation; the rest now began to be extremely insolent, and we saw more coming to join them from the opposite side of the river. It was therefore become necessary to repress them, and Mr. Banks fired



at the man who had taken the hanger with small shot, at the distance of about fifteen yards: when the shot struck him he ceased his cry; but instead of returning the hanger continued to flourish it over his head, at the same time slowly retreating to a greater distance. Mr. Monkhouse seeing this fired at him with ball, and he instantly dropped. Upon this the main body, who had retired to a rock in the middle of the river upon the first discharge, began to return; two that were near to the man who had been killed ran up to the body, one seized his weapon of green talc, and the other endeavoured to secure the hanger, which Mr. Monkhouse had but just time to prevent. As all that had retired to the rock were now advancing, three of us discharged our pieces, loaded only with small shot, upon which they swam back for the shore; and we perceived upon their landing, that two or three of them were wounded. They retired slowly up the country, and we reembarked in our boats.

As we had unhappily experienced that nothing was to be done with these people at this place, and finding the water in the river to be salt, I proceeded in the boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, and with a design if possible to surprise some of the natives, and take them on board, where by kind treatment and presents I might obtain their friendship, and by their means establish an amicable correspondence with their countrymen.

To my great regret, I found no place where I could land, a dangerous surf every where beating upon the shore; but I saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. I thought this a favourable opportunity to get some of the people into my possession without mischief, as those in the canoe were probably fi-hermen and without arms, and I had three boats full of men. I therefore disposed the boats

so as most effectually to intercept them in their way to the shore: the people in the canoe that was paddled perceived us so soon, that by making to the nearest land with their utmost strength, they escaped us; the other sailed on till she was in the midst of us, without discerning what we were, but the moment she discovered us, the people on board struck their sail, and took to their paddles, which they plied so briskly that she out-ran the boat. They were however within hearing, and Tupia called out to them to come along side, and promised for us that they should come to no hurt; they chose, however, rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musquet to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender, or leap into the water. Upon the discharge of the piece, they ceased paddling; and all of them being seven in number, began to strip, as we imagined to jump overboard, but it happened otherwise. They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence; four were unhappily killed, and the other three who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make: he was however at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty. I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death

for not chusing to confide in my promises ; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger ; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect ; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal ; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expence of life ; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effects.

As soon as the poor wretches whom we had taken out of the water were in the boat, they squatted down, expecting no doubt instantly to be put to death ; we made haste to convince them of the contrary, by every method in our power ; we furnished them with clothes, and gave them every other testimony of kindness that could remove their fears and engage their good-will. Those who are acquainted with human nature will not wonder, that the sudden joy of these young savages at being unexpectedly delivered from the fear of death, and kindly treated by those whom they supposed would have been their instant executioners, surmounted their concern for the friends they had lost, and was strongly expressed in their countenances and behaviour. Before we reached the ship, their suspicions and fears being wholly removed, they appeared to be not only reconciled to their situation but in high spirits, and upon being offered some bread when they came on board, they devoured it with a voracious appetite.

They answered and asked many questions, with great appearance of pleasure and curiosity; and when our dinner came, they expressed an inclination to taste every thing that they saw: they seemed best pleased with the salt pork, though we had other provisions upon the table. At sun-set, they eat another meal with great eagerness, each devouring a large quantity of bread, and drinking above a quart of water. We then made them beds upon the lockers, and they went to sleep with great seeming content. In the night, however, the tumult of their minds having subsided, and given way to reflection, they sighed often and loud. Tupia, who was always upon the watch to comfort them, got up, and by soothing and encouragement made them not only easy but cheerful; their cheerfulness was encouraged so that they sung a song with a degree of taste that surprised us: the tune was solemn and slow, like those of our Psalms, containing many notes and semitones. Their countenances were intelligent and expressive, and the middlemost, who seemed to be about fifteen, had an openness in his aspect, and an ease in his deportment which were very striking; we found that the two eldest were brothers, and that their names were Taahourange and Koikerange; the name of the youngest was Maragovete. As we were returning to the ship, after having taken these boys into the boat, we picked up a large piece of pumice-stone floating upon the water; a sure sign that there either is, or has been a volcano in this neighbourhood.

In the morning, they all seemed to be cheerful, and eat another enormous meal; after this we dressed them, and adorned them with bracelets, anklets, and necklaces, after their own fashion, and the boat being hoisted out, they were told that we were going to set them ashore: this produced a transport of joy; but upon perceiving that we made towards our first landing-place near the river, their countenances changed, and they

entreated with great earnestness that they might not be set ashore at that place, because they said, it was inhabited by their enemies, who would kill them and eat them. This was a great disappointment to me; because I hoped the report and appearance of the boys would procure a favourable reception for ourselves. I had already sent an officer on shore with the marines and a party of men to cut wood, and I was determined to land near the place; not, however, to abandon the boys, if, when we got ashore, they should be unwilling to leave us; but to send a boat with them in the evening to that part of the bay to which they pointed, and which they called their home. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and Tupia were with me, and upon our landing with the boys, and crossing the river, they seemed at first to be unwilling to leave us; but at length they suddenly changed their mind, and, though not without a manifest struggle, and some tears, they took their leave: when they were gone, we proceeded along a swamp, with a design to shoot some ducks, of which we saw great plenty, and four of the marines attended us, walking abreast of us upon a bank that overlooked the country. After we had advanced about a mile, these men called out to us and told us, that a large body of the Indians was in sight, and advancing at a great rate. Upon receiving this intelligence, we drew together, and resolved to make the best of our way to the boats; we had scarcely begun to put this into execution, when the three Indian boys started suddenly from some bushes, where they had concealed themselves, and again claimed our protection: we readily received them, and repairing to the beach as the clearest place, we walked briskly towards the boats. The Indians were in two bodies; one ran along the bank which had been quitted by the marines, the other fetched a compass by the swamp, so that we could not see them: when they perceived that we had formed into one body, they slackened their pace, but still followed us in a gentle walk; that they slackened their



pace, was for us, as well as for them, a fortunate circumstance ; for when we came to the side of the river, where we expected to find the boats that were to carry us over to the wooders, we found the pinnace at least a mile from her station, having been sent to pick up a bird which had been shot by the officer on shore, and the little boat was obliged to make three trips before we could all get over to the rest of the party. As soon as we were drawn up on the other side, the Indians came down, not in a body as we expected, but by two or three at a time, all armed, and in a short time their number increased to about two hundred : as we now despaired of making peace with them, seeing that the dread of our small arms did not keep them at a distance, and that the ship was too far off to reach the place with a shot, we resolved to re-imbark, lest our stay should embroil us in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives. We therefore advanced towards the pinnace which was now returning, when one of the boys suddenly cried out, that his uncle was among the people who had marched down to us, and desired us to stay and talk with them : we complied, and a parley immediately commenced between them and Tupia ; during which the boys held up every thing we had given them as tokens of our kindness and liberality ; but neither would either of the boys swim over to them, or any of them to the boys. The body of the man who had been killed the day before, still lay exposed upon the beach ; the boys seeing it lie very near us, went up to it, and covered it with some of the clothes that we had given them ; and soon after a single man, unarmed, who proved to be the uncle of Maragovete, the youngest of the boys, swam over to us, bringing in his hand a green branch, which we supposed, as well here as at Otaheite, to be an emblem of peace. We received his branch by the hands of Tupia, to whom he gave it, and made him many presents ; we also invited him to go on board the ship, but he declined it ; we therefore left him, and ex-

pected that his nephew, and the two other young Indians would have staid with him, but to our great surprise, they chose rather to go with us. As soon as we had retired, he went and gathered another green branch, and with this in his hand, he approached the dead body, which the youth had covered with part of his clothes, walking sideways with many ceremonies, and then throwing it towards him. When this was done, he returned to his companions, who sat down upon the sand to observe the issue of his negotiation: they immediately gathered round him, and continued in a body above an hour, without seeming to take any farther notice of us. We were more curious than they, and observing them with our glasses from on board the ship, we saw some of them cross the river upon a kind of raft, or catamarine, and four of them carry off the dead body which had been covered by the boy, and over which his uncle had performed the ceremony of the branch, upon a kind of bier, between four men: the other body was still suffered to remain where it had been first left.

After dinner I directed Tupia to ask the boys, if they had now any objection to going ashore, where we had left their uncle, the body having been carried off, which we understood was a ratification of peace: they said, they had not; and the boat being ordered, they went into it with great alacrity: when the boat, in which I had sent two midshipmen, came to land, they went willingly ashore: but soon after she put off, they returned to the rocks, and wading into the water, earnestly entreated to be taken on board again; but the people in the boat, having positive orders to leave them, could not comply. We were very attentive to what happened on shore, and keeping a constant watch with our glasses, we saw a man pass the river upon another raft, and fetch them to a place where forty or fifty of the natives were assembled, who closed round them, and continued in the same place till sunset: upon looking again, we saw them in motion,

we could plainly distinguish our three prisoners, who separated themselves from the rest, came down to the beach, and having waved their hands three times towards the ship, ran nimbly back and joined their companions, who walked leisurely away towards that part which the boys had pointed to as their dwelling-place; we had therefore the greatest reason to believe that no mischief would happen to them, especially as we perceived that they went off in the clothes we had given them.

After it was dark, loud voices were heard on shore in the bottom of the bay as usual, of which we could never learn the meaning.

---

## CHAP. II.

*A Description of Poverty Bay, and the face of the adjacent Country. The Range from thence to Cape Turnagain, and back to Tolaga; with some Account of the People and the Country, and several Incidents that happened on that part of the Coast.*

THE next morning, at six o'clock, we weighed, and stood away from this unfortunate and inhospitable place, to which I gave the name of Poverty Bay, and which by the natives is called Taoneroa or long sand, as it did not afford us a single article that we wanted except a little wood. It lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 42'$  S. and longitude  $181^{\circ} 36'$  W.; it is in the form of an horse-shoe, and is known by an island lying close under the north-east point; the two points which form the entrance are high, with steep white cliffs, and lie a league and a half or two leagues from each other, N. E. by E. and S. W. by W.: the depth of water in the bay is from twelve to five fathom, with a sandy bottom and

good anchorage ; but the situation is open to the wind between the south and east : boats can go in and out of the river at any time of the tide in fine weather ; but as there is a bar at the entrance, no boat can go either in or out when the sea runs high : the best place to attempt it, is on the north-east side, and it is there practicable when it is not so in any other part. The shore of the bay, a little within its entrance, is a low flat sand ; behind which, at a small distance, the face of the country is finely diversified by hills and vallies, all clothed with wood, and covered with verdure. The country also appears to be well inhabited, especially in the valleys leading up from the bay, where we daily saw smoke rising in clouds one behind another to a great distance, till the view terminated in mountains of a stupendous height.

The south-west point of the bay I named Young Nick's Head, after Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw the land ; at noon, it bore N. W. by W. distant about three or four leagues, and we were then about three miles from the shore. The main land extended from N. E. by N. to south, and I proposed to follow the direction of the coast to the southward as far as the latitude of 40 or 41 ; and then, if I met with no encouragement to proceed farther, to return to the northward.

In the afternoon we lay becalmed, which the people on shore perceiving, several canoes put off, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of the vessel ; but could not be persuaded to come nearer, though Tupia exerted all the power of his lungs and his eloquence upon the occasion, shouting, and promising that they should not be hurt. Another canoe was now seen coming from Poverty Bay, with only four people on board, one of whom we well remembered to have seen in our first interview upon the rock. This canoe, without stopping or taking the least notice of the others, came directly alongside of the ship, and with very little persuasion, we got the Indians on board.

Their example was soon followed by the rest, and we had about us seven canoes, and about fifty men. We made them all presents with a liberal hand; notwithstanding which, they were so desirous to have more of our commodities, that they sold us every thing they had, even the clothes from their backs, and the paddles from their boats. There were but two weapons among them, these were the instruments of green talc, which were shaped somewhat like a pointed battledore, with a short handle and sharp edges; they were called *patoo-patoo*, and were well contrived for close-fighting, as they would certainly split the thickest scull at a single blow.

When these people had recovered from the first impressions of fear, which notwithstanding their resolution in coming on board, had manifestly thrown them into some confusion, we enquired after our poor boys. The man who first came on board immediately answered, that they were unhurt and at home; adding, that he had been induced to venture on board by the account which they had given him of the kindness with which they had been treated, and the wonders that were contained in the ship.

While they were on board they shewed every sign of friendship, and invited us very cordially to go back to our old bay, or to a small cove which they pointed out, that was not quite so far off; but I chose rather to prosecute my discoveries than go back, having reason to hope that I should find a better harbour than any I had yet seen.

About an hour before sun-set, the canoes put off from the ship with the few paddles they had reserved, which were scarcely sufficient to set them on shore; but by some means or other three of their people were left behind: as soon as we discovered it, we hailed them; but not one of them would return to take them on board: this greatly surprized us; but we were surprized still more to observe that the deserted Indians did not seem at all uneasy at their situation, but entertained



us with dancing and singing after their manner, eat their suppers, and went quietly to bed.

A light breeze springing up soon after it was dark, we steered along the shore under an easy sail till midnight, and then brought to, soon after which it fell calm; we were now some leagues distant from the place where the canoes had left us, and at day-break, when the Indians perceived it, they were seized with consternation and terror, and lamented their situation in loud complaints, with gestures of despair and many tears. Tupia with great difficulty pacified them; and about seven o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up, we continued to stand south-west along the shore. Fortunately for our poor Indians, two canoes came off about this time, and made towards the ship: they stopped, however, at a little distance, and seemed unwilling to trust themselves nearer. Our Indians were greatly agitated in this state of uncertainty, and urged their fellows to come alongside of the ship, both by their voice and gestures, with the utmost eagerness and impatience. Tupia interpreted what they said, and we were much surprised to find, that, among other arguments, they assured the people in the canoes, that we did not eat men. We now began seriously to believe that this horrid custom prevailed among them; for what the boys had said, we considered as a mere hyperbolical expression of their fear. One of the canoes, at length, ventured to come under the ship's side; and an old man came on board, who seemed to be a chief from the finery of his garment, and the superiority of his weapon, which was a patoopatoo, made of bone, that, as he said, had belonged to a whale. He staid on board but a short time, and when he went away, he took with him our guests, very much to the satisfaction both of them and us.

At the time when we sailed, we were abreast of a point, from which the land trends S. S. W. and which, on account of its figure, I called Cape Table. This point lies seven leagues to the southward of Poverty Bay, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 7' S.$  and longitude  $181^{\circ} 36' W.$

it is of a considerable height, makes in a sharp angle, and appears to be quite flat at the top.

In steering along the shore to the southward of the Cape, at the distance of two or three miles, our soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom, having a chain of rocks between us and the shore, which appeared at different heights above the water.

At noon, Cape Table bore N. 20 E. distant about four leagues, and a small island, which was the southernmost land in sight, bore S. 70 W. at the distance of about three miles. This island, which the natives call Teahowray, I named the Island of Portland, from its very great resemblance to Portland, in the English Channel: it lies about a mile from a point on the main; but there appears to be a ridge of rocks, extending nearly, if not quite, from one to the other. N. 57 E. two miles from the south point of Portland, lies a sunken rock, upon which the sea breaks with great violence. We passed between this rock and the land, having from seventeen to twenty fathom.

In sailing along the shore, we saw the natives assembled in great numbers as well upon Portland Island as the main: we could also distinguish several spots of ground that were cultivated: some seemed to be fresh turned up, and lay in furrows like ploughed land, and some had plants upon them in different stages of their growth. We saw also in two places, high rails upon the ridges of hills, like what we had seen upon the peninsula at the north-east head of Poverty bay; as they were ranged in lines only, and not so as to enclose an area, we could not guess at their use, and therefore supposed they might be the work of superstition.

About noon another canoe appeared, in which were four men; she came within about a quarter of a mile of us, where the people on board seemed to perform divers ceremonies: one of them who was in the bow, sometimes seemed to ask and to offer peace, and sometimes to threaten war, by brandishing a weapon that

he held in his hand: sometimes also he danced, and sometimes he sung. Tupia talked much to him, but could not persuade him to come to the ship.

Between one and two o'clock we discovered land to the westward of Portland, extending to the southward as far as we could see; and as the ship was hauling round the south end of the island, she suddenly fell into shoal water and broken ground: we had indeed always seven fathom or more, but the soundings were never twice the same, jumping at once from seven fathom to eleven; in a short time, however, we got clear of all danger, and had again deep water under us.

At this time the island lay within a mile of us, making in white cliffs, and a long spit of low land running from it towards the main. On the sides of these cliffs sat vast numbers of people, looking at us with a fixed attention, and it is probable that they perceived some appearance of hurry and confusion on board, and some irregularity in the working of the ship, while we were getting clear of the shallow water and broken ground, from which they might infer that we were alarmed or in distress; we thought that they wished to take advantage of our situation, for five canoes were put off with the utmost expedition, full of men, and well armed: they came so near, and shewed so hostile a disposition by shouting, brandishing their lances, and using threatening gestures, that we were in some pain for our small boat, which was still employed in sounding: a musket was therefore fired over them, but finding it did them no harm, they seemed rather to be provoked than intimidated, and I therefore fired a four pounder, charged with grape-shot, wide of them: this had a better effect; upon the report of the piece they all rose up and shouted, but instead of continuing the chase, drew altogether, and after a short consultation, went quietly away.

Having got round Portland, we hauled in for the land N. W. having a gentle breeze at N. E. which

about five o'clock died away, and obliged us to anchor; we had one and twenty fathom, with a fine sandy bottom: the south point of Portland bore S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. distant about two leagues, and a low point on the main bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.: in the same direction with this low point, there runs a deep bay, behind the land of which Cape Table is the extremity, so as to make this land a peninsula, leaving only a low narrow neck between that and the main. Of this peninsula, which the natives call Terakaco, Cape Table is the north point, and Portland the south.

While we lay at anchor, two more canoes came off to us, one armed and the other a small fishing-boat, with only four men in her; they came so near that they entered into conversation with Tupia; they answered all the questions that he asked them with great civility, but could not be persuaded to come on board; they came near enough, however, to receive several presents that were thrown to them from the ship, with which they seemed much pleased, and went away. During the night many fires were kept upon shore, probably to shew us that the inhabitants were too much upon their guard to be surprized.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 13th, a breeze springing up northerly, we weighed, and steered in for the land. The shore here forms a large bay, of which Portland is the north east point, and the bay that runs behind Cape Table, an arm. This arm I had a great inclination to examine, because there appeared to be safe anchorage in it, but not being sure of that, and the wind being right an end, I was unwilling to spare the time. Four and twenty fathom was the greatest depth within Portland, but the ground was every where clear. The land near the shore is of a moderate height, with white cliffs and sandy beaches; within, it rises into mountains, and upon the whole the surface is hilly, for the most part covered with wood, and to appearance pleasant and fertile. In the morning nine canoes came after the

ship, but whether with peaceable or hostile intentions we could not tell, for we soon left them behind us.

In the evening we stood in for a place that had the appearance of an opening, but found no harbour: we therefore stood out again, and were soon followed by a large canoe, with eighteen or twenty men, all armed, who, though they could not reach us, shouted defiance, and brandished their weapons, with many gestures of menace and insult.

In the morning we had a view of the mountains inland, upon which the snow was still lying: the country near the shore was low and unfit for culture, but in one place we perceived a patch of somewhat yellow, which had greatly the appearance of a corn field, yet was probably nothing more than some dead flags, which are not uncommon in swampy places: at some distance we saw groves of trees, which appeared high and tapering, and being not above two leagues from the south-west end of the great bay in which we had been coasting for the two last days, I hoisted out the pinnace and long-boat to search for fresh water; but just as they were about to put off, we saw several boats full of people coming from the shore, and therefore I did not think it safe for them to leave the ship. About ten o'clock, five of these boats having drawn together, as if to hold a consultation, made towards the ship, having on board between eighty and ninety men, and four more followed at some distance, as if to sustain the attack: when the first five came within about a hundred yards of the ship, they began to sing their war song, and brandishing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. We had now no time to lose, for if we could not prevent the attack, we should come under the unhappy necessity of using our fire-arms against them, which we were very desirous to avoid. Tupia was therefore ordered to acquaint them that we had weapons which, like thunder, would destroy them in a moment; that we would immediately convince them of their power by directing



their effect so that they should not be hurt; but that if they persisted in any hostile attempt, we should be obliged to use them for our defence: a four-pounder, loaded with grape shot, was then discharged wide of them, which produced the desired effect; the report, the flash, and above all, the shot, which spread very far in the water, so intimidated them, that they began to paddle away with all their might: Tupia, however, calling after them, and assuring them that if they would come unarmed, they should be kindly received; the people in one of the boats put their arms on board of another, and came under the ship's stern; we made them several presents, and should certainly have prevailed upon them to come on board, if the other canoes had not come up, and again threatened us, by shouting and brandishing their weapons: at this the people who had come to the ship unarmed, expressed great displeasure, and soon after they all went away.

In the afternoon we stood over to the south point of the bay, but not reaching it before it was dark, we stood off and on all night. At eight the next morning, being a-breast of the point, several fishing boats came off to us, and sold us some stinking fish: it was the best they had, and we were willing to trade with them upon any terms: these people behaved very well, and we should have parted good friends if it had not been for a large canoe, with two and twenty armed men on board, which came boldly up along-side of the ship. We soon saw that this boat had nothing for traffic, yet we gave them two or three pieces of cloth, an article which they seemed very fond of. I observed that one man had a black skin thrown over him, somewhat resembling that of a bear, and being desirous to know what animal was its first owner, I offered him for it a piece of red baize, and he seemed greatly pleased with the bargain, immediately pulling off the skin, and holding it up in the boat; he would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his possession, and as there could be no transfer of property, if with equal

caution I had insisted upon the same condition, I ordered the cloth to be handed down to him, upon which, with amazing coolness, instead of sending up the skin, he began to pack up both that and the baize, which he had received as the purchase of it, in a basket, without paying the least regard to my demand or remonstrances, and soon after, with the fishing boats, put off from the ship; when they were at some distance, they drew together, and after a short consultation returned; the fishermen offered more fish, which, though good for nothing, was purchased, and trade was again renewed. Among others who were placed over the ship's side to hand up what we bought, was little Tayeto, Tupia's boy; and one of the Indians, watching his opportunity, suddenly seized him, and dragged him down into the canoe; two of them held him down in the fore-part of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off, the rest of the canoes following as fast as they could: upon this the marines, who were under arms upon deck, were ordered to fire. The shot was directed to that part of the canoe which was farthest from the boy, and rather wide of her, being willing rather to miss the rowers than to hurt him: it happened, however, that one man dropped, upon which the others quitted their hold of the boy, who instantly leaped into the water, and swam towards the ship; the large canoe immediately pulled round and followed him, but some musquets, and a great gun being fired at her, she desisted from the pursuit. The ship being brought to, a boat was lowered, and the poor boy taken up unhurt, though so terrified that for a time he seemed to be deprived of his senses. Some of the gentlemen who traced the canoes to shore with their glasses, said, that they saw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead, or wholly disabled by their wounds.

To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened, I gave the name of Cape Kidnappers. It

lies in latitude  $39^{\circ} 43'$ , and longitude  $182^{\circ} 24'$  W. and is rendered remarkable by two white rocks like hay stacks, and the high white cliffs on each side. It lies S. W. by W. distant thirteen leagues from the isle of Portland; and between them is the bay of which it is the south point, and which in honour, of Sir Edward Hawke, then First Lord of the Admiralty, I called Hawke's Bay. We found in it from twenty-four to seven fathom, and good anchorage. From Cape Kidnappers the land trends S. S. W. and in this direction we made our run along the shore, keeping at about a league distance, with a steady breeze and clear weather.

As soon as Tayeto recovered from his fright, he brought a fish to Tupia, and told him, that he intended it as an offering to his eatua, or god, in gratitude for his escape; Tupia commended his piety, and ordered him to throw the fish into the sea, which was accordingly done.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we passed a small but high white island, lying close to the shore, upon which we saw many houses, boats, and people. The people we concluded to be fishers, because the island was totally barren; we saw several people also on shore, in a small bay upon the main, within the island. At eleven, we brought to till day-light, and then made sail to the southward, along the shore. About seven o'clock we passed a high point of land, which lies S.S.W. twelve leagues from Cape Kidnappers: from this point the land trends three-fourths of a point more to the westward; at ten, we saw more land open to the southward, and at noon, the southernmost land that was in sight, bore S.  $39^{\circ}$  W. distant eight or ten leagues, and a high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, bore W. distant about two miles: the depth of water was thirty-two fathom.

In the afternoon we had a fresh breeze at west, and during the night variable light airs and calms: in the morning a gentle breeze sprung up between the N.W.

and N.E. and having till now stood to the southward, without seeing any probability of meeting with a harbour, and the country manifestly altering for the worse, I thought that standing farther in that direction would be attended with no advantage, but on the contrary would be a loss of time that might be employed with a better prospect of success in examining the coast to the northward; about one, therefore, in the afternoon, I tacked, and stood north, with a fresh breeze at west. The high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, which we were a-breast of at noon, I called Cape Turnagain, because here we turned back. It lies in latitude  $40^{\circ} 34'$  S., longitude  $182^{\circ} 55'$  W. distant eighteen leagues S.S.W. and S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from Cape Kidnappers. The land between them is of a very unequal height; in some places it is lofty next the sea with white cliffs, in others low, with sandy beaches: the face of the country is not so well clothed with wood as it is about Hawke's bay, but looks more like our high downs in England: it is, however, to all appearance, well inhabited, for as we stood along the shore, we saw several villages, not only in the vallies, but on the tops and sides of the hills, and smoke in many other places. The ridge of mountains which has been mentioned before, extends to the southward farther than we could see, and was then every where chequered with snow. At night we saw two fires, inland, so very large, that we concluded they must have been made to clear the land for tillage; but however that be, they are a demonstration that the part of the country where they appeared is inhabited.

On the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, Cape Kidnappers bore N.  $32^{\circ}$  W. distant two leagues: in this situation we had sixty-two fathom, and when the Cape bore W. by N. distant three or four leagues, we had forty-five fathom: in the mid-way between the isle of Portland and the Cape we had sixty-five fathom. In the evening, being abreast of the peninsula, within Portland island, called Terakako, a canoe came off

from that shore, and with much difficulty overtook the ship; there were on board five people, two of whom appeared to be chiefs, and the other three servants: the chiefs, with very little invitation came on board, and ordered the rest to remain in their canoe. We treated them with great kindness, and they were not backward in expressing their satisfaction; they went down into the cabin, and after a short time told us that they had determined not to go on shore till the next morning. As the sleeping on board was an honour which we neither expected nor desired, I remonstrated strongly against it, and told them, that on their account it would not be proper, as the ship would probably be at a great distance from where she was then, the next morning: they persisted, however, in their resolution, and as I found it impossible to get rid of them without turning them by force out of the ship, I complied: as a proper precaution, however, I proposed to take their servants also on board, and hoist their canoe into the ship; they made no objection, and this was accordingly done. The countenance of one of these chiefs was the most open and ingenuous of all I have ever seen, and I very soon gave up every suspicion of his having any sinister design: they both examined every thing they saw with great curiosity and attention, and received very thankfully such little presents as we made them; neither of them, however, could be persuaded either to eat or drink, but their servants devoured every thing they could get with great voracity. We found that these men had heard of our kindness and liberality to the natives who had been on board before, yet we thought the confidence they placed in us, an extraordinary instance of their fortitude. At night I brought to till day-light, and then made sail; at seven in the morning, I brought to again under Cape Table, and sent away our guests with their canoe, who expressed some surprise at seeing themselves so far from home, but landed a-breast of the ship. At this time I saw



other canoes putting off from the shore, but I stood away to the northward without waiting for their coming up.

About three, I passed a remarkable head land, which I called Gable-End-Foreland, from the very great likeness of the white cliff at the point, to the gable-end of a house: it is not more remarkable for its figure, than for a rock which rises like a spire at a little distance. It lies from Cape Table N. 24 E. distant about twelve leagues. The shore between them forms a bay, within which lies Poverty Bay, at the distance of four leagues from the head land, and eight from the Cape. At this place three canoes came off to us, and one man came on board; we gave him some trifles, and he soon returned to his boat, which, with all the rest, dropped a-stern.

In the morning I made sail in shore, in order to look into two bays, which appeared about two leagues to the northward of the Foreland; the southermost I could not fetch, but I anchored in the other about eleven o'clock.

Into this bay we were invited by the people on board many canoes, who pointed to a place where they said there was plenty of fresh water: I did not find so good a shelter from the sea as I expected, but the natives who came about us, appearing to be of a friendly disposition, I was determined to try whether I could not get some knowledge of the country here before I proceeded farther to the northward.

In one of the canoes that came about us as soon as we anchored, we saw two men, who by their habit appeared to be chiefs: one of them was dressed in a jacket, which was ornamented, after their manner, with dog's skin; the jacket of the other was almost covered with small tufts of red feathers. These men I invited on board, and they entered the ship with very little hesitation: I gave each of them about four yards of linen, and a spike nail; with the linen they were much pleased, but seemed to set no value upon

the nail. We perceived that they knew what had happened in Poverty Bay, and we had therefore no reason to doubt but that they would behave peaceably; however, for further security, Tupia was ordered to tell them for what purpose we came thither, and to assure them that we would offer them no injury, if they offered none to us. In the mean time those who remained in the canoes traded with our people very fairly for what they happened to have with them: the chiefs, who were old men, staid with us till we had dined, and about two o'clock I put off with the boats, manned and armed, in order to go on shore in search of water, and the two chiefs went into the boat with me. The afternoon was tempestuous, with much rain, and the surf every where ran so high, that although we rowed almost round the bay, we found no place where we could land: I determined therefore to return to the ship, which being intimated to the chiefs, they called to the people on shore, and ordered a canoe to be sent off for themselves; this was accordingly done, and they left us, promising to come on board again in the morning, and bring us some fish and sweet potatoes.

In the evening, the weather having become fair and moderate, the boats were again ordered out, and I landed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We were received with great expressions of friendship by the natives, who behaved with a scrupulous attention not to give offence. In particular, they took care not to appear in great bodies: one family, or the inhabitants of two or three houses only, were generally placed together, to the number of fifteen or twenty, consisting of men, women, and children. These little companies sat upon the ground, not advancing towards us, but inviting us to them, by a kind of beckon, moving one hand towards the breast. We made them several little presents; and in our walk round the bay found two small streams of fresh water. This convenience, and the friendly behaviour of the people,

determined me to stay at least a day, that I might fill some of my empty casks, and give Mr. Banks an opportunity of examining the natural produce of the country.

In the morning of the 21st, I sent Lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the watering, with a strong party of men; and they were soon followed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with Tupia, Tayeto, and four others.

The natives sat by our people, and seemed pleased to observe them; but did not intermix with them: they traded, however, chiefly for cloth, and after a short time applied to their ordinary occupations, as if no stranger had been among them. In the forenoon several of their boats went out a fishing, and at dinner-time every one repaired to his respective dwelling; from which, after a certain time, he returned. These fair appearances encouraged Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to range the bay with very little precaution, where they found many plants, and shot some birds of exquisite beauty. In their walk, they visited several houses of the natives, and saw something of their manner of life; for they showed, without any reserve, every thing which the gentlemen desired to see. They were sometimes found at their meals, which the approach of the strangers never interrupted. Their food at this season consisted of fish, with which, instead of bread, they eat the root of a kind of fern, very like that which grows upon our commons in England. These roots they scorch over the fire, and then beat with a stick, till the bark and dry outside fall off; what remains is a soft substance, somewhat clammy and sweet, not unpleasant to the taste, but mixed with three or four times its quantity of strings and fibres, which are very disagreeable; these were swallowed by some, but spit out by the far greater number, who had baskets under them to receive the rejected part of what had been chewed, which had an appearance very like that of tobacco in the same state. In other seasons

they have certainly plenty of excellent vegetables; but no tame animals were seen among them except dogs, which were very small and ugly. Mr. Banks saw some of their plantations, where the ground was as well broken down and tilled as even in the gardens of the most curious people among us: in these spots were sweet potatoes, cocos or eddas, which are well known and much esteemed both in the East and West Indies, and some gourds: the sweet potatoes were planted in small hills, some ranged in rows, and others in quincunx, all laid by a line with the greatest regularity: the cocos were planted upon flat land, but none of them yet appeared above ground; and the gourds were set in small hollows, or dishes, much as in England. These plantations were of different extent, from one or two acres to ten: taken together, there appeared to be from 150 to 200 acres in cultivation in the whole bay, though we never saw an hundred people. Each district was fenced in, generally with reeds, which were placed so close together that there was scarcely room for a mouse to creep between.

The women were plain, and made themselves more so by painting their faces with red ochre and oil, which being generally fresh and wet upon their cheeks and foreheads, was easily transferred to the noses of those who thought fit to salute them: and that they were not wholly averse to such familiarity, the noses of several of our people strongly testified: they were, however, as great coquettes as any of the most fashionable ladies in Europe, and the young ones as skittish as an unbroken filly: each of them wore a petticoat, under which there was a girdle, made of the blades of grass highly perfumed, and to the girdle was fastened a small bunch of the leaves of some fragrant plant, which served their modesty as its innermost veil. The faces of the men were not so generally painted, yet we saw one whose whole body, and even his garments, were rubbed over with dry ochre, of which he kept a piece constantly in his hand, and was every minute

renewing the decoration in one part or another, where he supposed it was become deficient. In personal delicacy they were not equal to our friends at Otaheite, for the coldness of the climate did not invite them so often to bathe; but we saw among them one instance of cleanliness in which they exceeded them, and of which perhaps there is no example in any other Indian nation. Every house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy, so that the ground was every where clean. The offals of their food, and other litter, were also piled up in regular dunghills, which probably they made use of at a proper time for manure.

In this decent article of civil œconomy they were before-hand with one of the most considerable nations of Europe, for I am credibly informed, that till the year 1760, there was no such thing as a privy in Madrid, the metropolis of Spain, though it is plentifully supplied with water. Before that time it was the universal practice to throw the ordure out of the windows, during the night, into the street, where numbers of men were employed to remove it, with shovels, from the upper parts of the city to the lower, where it lay till it was dry, and was then carried away in carts, and deposited without the gates. His present catholic majesty, having determined to free his capital from so gross a nuisance, ordered, by proclamation, that the proprietor of every house should build a privy, and that sinks, drains, and common-sewers should be made at the public expence. The Spaniards, though long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation with great spirit, as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and made a vigorous struggle against its being carried into execution. Every class devised some objection against it, but the physicians bid the fairest to interest the king in the preservation of the ancient privileges of his people; for they remonstrated that if the filth was not, as usual, thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would probably ensue,



because the putrescent particles of the air, which such filth attracted, would then be imbibed by the human body. But this expedient, with every other that could be thought of, proved unsuccessful, and the popular discontent then ran so high that it was very near producing an insurrection; his majesty, however, at length prevailed, and Madrid is now as clear as most of the considerable cities in Europe. But many of the citizens, probably upon the principles advanced by their physicians, that heaps of filth prevent deleterious particles of air from fixing upon neighbouring substances, have, to keep their food wholesome, constructed their privies by the kitchen fire.

In the evening, all our boats being employed in carrying the water on board, and Mr. Banks and his company finding it probable that they should be left on shore after it was dark, by which much time would be lost, which they were impatient to employ in putting the plants they had gathered in order, they applied to the Indians for a passage in one of their canoes: they immediately consented, and a canoe was launched for their use. They went all on board, being eight in number, but not being used to a vessel that required so even a balance, they unfortunately overset her in the surf: no life however was lost, but it was thought advisable that half of them should wait for another turn. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and Tayeto embarked again, and without any farther accident arrived safely at the ship, well pleased with the good-nature of their Indian friends, who fully undertook to carry them a second time, after having experienced how unfit a freight they were for such a vessel.

While these gentlemen were on shore, several of the natives went off to the ship, and trafficked, by exchanging their cloth for that of Otaheite: of this barter they were for some time very fond, preferring the Indian cloth to that of Europe: but before night it decreased in its value five hundred per cent. Many

of these Indians I took on board, and shewed them the ship and her apparatus, at which they expressed equal satisfaction and astonishment.

As I found it exceedingly difficult to get water on board on account of the surf, I determined to stay no longer at this place; on the next morning therefore, about five o'clock, I weighed anchor and put to sea.

This bay, which is called by the natives Tegadoo, lies in the latitude of  $38^{\circ} 10'$  S., but as it has nothing to recommend it, a description of it is unnecessary.

From this bay I intended to stand on to the northward, but the wind being right against me, I could make no way. While I was beating about to windward, some of the natives came on board, and told me, that in a bay which lay a little to the southward, being the same that I could not fetch the day I put into Tegadoo, there was excellent water, where the boats might land without a surf. I thought it better therefore to put into this bay, where I might complete my water, and form farther connexions with the Indians, than to keep the sea. With this view I bore up for it, and sent in two boats, manned and armed, to examine the watering-place, who confirming the report of the Indians at their return, I came to an anchor about one o'clock, in eleven fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, the north point of the bay N. by E. and the south point S. E. The watering-place, which was in a small cove a little within the south point of the bay, bore S. by E. distant about a mile. Many canoes came immediately off from the shore, and all traded very honestly for Otaheite cloth and glass bottles, of which they were immoderately fond.

In the afternoon of the 23d, as soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore to examine the watering-place, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander: the boat landed in the cove, without the least surf; the water was excellent, and conveniently situated; there was plenty of wood close to high-water mark, and the

disposition of the people was in every respect such as we could wish.

Having, with Mr. Green, taken several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of them gave  $180^{\circ} 47'$  W. longitude; but, as all the observations made before exceeded these, I have laid down the coast from the mean of the whole. At noon, I took the sun's meridian altitude with an astronomical quadrant, which was set up at the watering-place, and found the latitude to be  $38^{\circ} 22' 24''$ .

On the 24th, early in the morning, I sent lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the cutting of wood and filling of water, with a sufficient number of men for both purposes, and all the marines as a guard. After breakfast, I went on shore myself, and continued there the whole day.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander also went on shore to gather plants, and in their walks saw several things worthy of notice. They met with many houses in the vallies that seemed to be wholly deserted, the people living on the ridges of the hills in a kind of sheds very slightly built. As they were advancing in one of these vallies, the hills on each side of which were very steep, they were suddenly struck with the sight of a very extraordinary natural curiosity. It was a rock, perforated through its whole substance, so as to form a rude but stupendous arch or cavern, opening directly to the sea; this aperture was seventy-five feet long, twenty-seven broad, and five and forty high, commanding a view of the bay and the hills on the other side, which were seen through it, and, opening at once upon the view, produced an effect far superior to any of the contrivances of art.

As they were returning to the watering-place in the evening, they met an old man, who detained them some time by showing them the military exercises of the country with the lance, and patoo-patoo, which are all the weapons in use. The lance is from ten to

fourteen feet long, and made of a very hard wood, and sharp at both ends: the patoo-patoo has been described already, it is about a foot long, made of talc or bone, with sharp edges, and used as a battle-axe. A post or stake was set up as his enemy, to which he advanced with a most furious aspect, brandishing his lance, which he grasped with great firmness; when it was supposed to have been pierced by his lance, he ran at it with his patoo-patoo, and falling upon the upper end of it, which was to represent his adversary's head, he laid on with great vehemence, striking many blows, any one of which would probably have split the skull of an ox. From our champion's falling upon his mock enemy with his patoo-patoo, after he was supposed to have been pierced with the lance, our gentlemen inferred, that in the battles of this country there is no quarter.

This afternoon, we set up the armourer's forge, to repair the braces of the tiller which had been broken, and went on getting our wood and water, without suffering the least molestation from the natives; who came down with different sorts of fish, which we purchased with cloth, beads, and glass bottles, as usual.

On the 25th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again on shore; and while they were searching for plants, Tupia staid with the waterers: among other Indians who came down to them, was a priest, with whom Tupia entered into a very learned conversation. In their notions of religion they seemed to agree very well, which is not often the case between learned divines on our side of the ocean: Tupia, however, seemed to have the most knowledge, and he was listened to with great deference and attention by the other. In the course of this conversation, after the important points of divinity had been settled, Tupia enquired if it was their practice to eat men, to which they answered in the affirmative; but said that they eat only their enemies who were slain in battle.

On the 26th, it rained all day, so that none of us

could go ashore; and very few of the Indians came either to the watering-place or the ship.

On the 27th, I went with Dr. Solander to examine the bottom of the bay; but though we went ashore at two places, we met with little worth notice. The people behaved very civilly, shewing us every thing that we expressed a desire to see. Among other trifling curiosities which Dr. Solander purchased of them, was a boy's top, shaped exactly like those which children play with in England; and they made signs, that to make it spin it was to be whipped. Mr. Banks in the mean time went ashore at the watering-place, and climbed a hill which stood at a little distance to see a fence of poles, which we had observed from the ship, and which had been much the subject of speculation. The hill was extremely steep, and rendered almost inaccessible by wood; yet he reached the place, near which he found many houses that for some reason had been deserted by their inhabitants. The poles appeared to be about sixteen feet high; they were placed in two rows, with a space of about six feet between them, and the poles in each row were about ten feet distant from each other. The lane between them was covered by sticks, that were set up sloping towards each other from the top of the poles on each side, like the roof of a house. This rail-work, with a ditch that was parallel to it, was carried about a hundred yards down the hill in a kind of curve; but for what purpose we could not guess.

The Indians, at the watering-place, at our request, entertained us with their war-song, in which the women joined, with the most horrid distortions of countenance, rolling their eyes, thrusting out their tongues, and often heaving loud and deep sighs; though all was done in very good time.

On the 28th, we went ashore upon an island that lies to the left hand of the entrance of the bay, where we saw the largest canoe that we had yet met with: she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five broad,



and three feet six high; she had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees hollowed, of which that in the middle was the longest: the side planks were sixty-two feet long in one piece, and were not despicably carved in bas relief; the head also was adorned with carving still more richly. Upon this island there was a larger house than any we had yet seen; but it seemed unfinished and was full of chips. The wood work was squared so even and smooth, that we made no doubt of their having among them very sharp tools. The sides of the posts were carved in a masterly stile, though after their whimsical taste, which seems to prefer spiral lines and distorted faces: as these carved posts appeared to have been brought from some other place, such work is probably of great value among them.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, having got on board our wood and water, and a large supply of excellent celery, with which the country abounds; and which proved a powerful antiscorbutic, I unmoored and put to sea.

This bay is called by the natives Tolaga; it is moderately large, and has from seven to thirteen fathom, with a clean sandy bottom and good anchorage; and is sheltered from all winds except the north-east. It lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 22'$  S. and four leagues and an half to the north of Gable-end Foreland. On the south point lies a small but high island, so near the main as not to be distinguished from it. Close to the north end of the island, at the entrance into the bay, are two high rocks; one is round like a corn-stack, but the other is long, and perforated in several places so that the openings appear like the arches of a bridge. Within these rocks is the cove where we cut wood, and filled our water-casks. Off the north point of the bay is a pretty high rocky island; and about a mile without it, are some rocks and breakers. The variation of the compass here is  $14^{\circ} 31'$  E. and the tide flows at the full and change of the moon, about six

o'clock, and rises and falls perpendicularly from five to six feet : whether the flood comes from the southward or the northward I have not been able to determine.

We got nothing here by traffic but a few fish, and some sweet potatoes, except a few trifles, which we considered merely as curiosities. We saw no four-footed animals, nor the appearance of any, either tame or wild, except dogs and rats, and these were very scarce : the people eat the dogs, like our friends at Otaheite ; and adorn their garments with the skins, as we do ours with fur and ermine. I climbed many of the hills, hoping to get a view of the country, but I could see nothing from the top except higher hills, in a boundless succession. The ridges of these hills produce little besides fern ; but the sides are most luxuriantly clothed with wood, and verdure of various kinds, with little plantations intermixed. In the woods, we found trees of above twenty different sorts, and carried specimens of each on board ; but there was no body among us to whom they were not altogether unknown. The tree which we cut for firing was somewhat like our maple, and yielded a whitish gum. We found another sort of it of a deep yellow, which we thought might be useful in dying. We found also one cabbage tree, which we cut down for the cabbages. The country abounds with plants, and the woods with birds, in an endless variety, exquisitely beautiful, and of which none of us had the least knowledge. The soil both of the hills and vallies is light and sandy, and very fit for the production of all kinds of roots ; though we saw none except sweet potatoes and yams.

## CHAP. III.

*The Range from Tolaga to Mercury Bay, with an Account of many Incidents that happened both on board and ashore : a Description of several Views exhibited by the Country, and of the Heppahs, or fortified Villages of the Inhabitants.*

ON Monday, the 30th, about half an hour after one o'clock, having made sail again to the northward for about ten hours, with a light breeze, I hauled round a small island which lay east one mile from the north east point of the land : from this place I found the land trend away N.W. by W. and W.N.W. as far as I could see, this point being the easternmost land on the whole coast. I gave it the name of East Cape, and I called the island that lies off it East Island ; it is of a small circuit, high and round, and appears white and barren : the cape is high, with white cliffs, and lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 42' 30''$  S. and longitude  $181^{\circ}$  W. The land from Tolaga Bay to East Cape is of a moderate, but unequal height, forming several small bays, in which are sandy beaches : of the inland country we could not see much, the weather being cloudy and hazy. The soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom at the distance of about a league from the shore. After we had rounded the cape, we saw in our run along the shore a great number of villages, and much cultivated land ; the country in general appeared more fertile than before, and was low near the sea, but hilly within. At six in the evening, being four leagues to the westward of East Cape, we passed a bay which was first discovered by lieutenant Hicks, and which therefore I called Hicks' Bay. At eight in the evening, being eight leagues to the westward of the

Cape, and three or four miles from the shore, I shortened sail and brought to for the night, having at this time a fresh gale at S.S.E. and squally; but it soon became moderate, and at two in the morning, we made sail again to the S.W. as the land now trended; and at eight o'clock in the morning, saw land, which made like an island, bearing west, the south westermost part of the main bearing south west; and about nine no less than five canoes came off, in which were more than forty men, all armed with their country pikes and battle-axes, shouting, and threatening an attack: this gave us great uneasiness, and was indeed what we did not expect; for we hoped, that the report both of our power and clemency had spread to a greater extent. When one of these canoes had almost reached the ship, another, of an immense size, the largest we had yet seen, crowded with people who were also armed, put off from the shore, and came up at a great rate; as it approached, it received signals from the canoe that was nearest to the ship, and we could see that it had sixteen paddles on a side, beside people that sat, and others that stood in a row from stem to stern, being in all about sixty men: as they made directly to the ship, we were desirous of preventing an attack, by showing what we could do; and therefore fired a gun, loaded with grape shot, ahead of them: this made them stop, but not retreat; a round shot was then fired over them, and upon seeing it fall, they seized their paddles and made towards the shore with such precipitation that they seemed scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe. In the evening, three or four more canoes came off unarmed; but they would not venture within a musket shot of the vessel. The cape, off which we had been threatened with hostilities, I called, from the hasty retreat of the enemy, Cape Runaway. It lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 32'$ ; longitude  $181^{\circ} 48'$ . In this day's run, we found that

the land, which made like an island in the morning, bearing west, was so; and we gave it the name of White Island.

At day-break, on the 1st of November, we counted no less than five and forty canoes that were coming from the shore towards the ship: seven of them came up with us, and after some conversation with Tupia, sold us some lobsters and muscles, and two conger eels. These people traded pretty fairly: but when they were gone, some others came off from another place, who began also to trade fairly; but after some time they took what was handed down to them, without making any return; one of them who had done so, upon being threatened, began to laugh, and with many marks of derision set us at defiance, at the same time putting off the canoe from the ship: a musquet was then fired over his head, which brought him back in a more serious mood, and trade went on with great regularity. At length, when the cabin and gun-room had got as much as they wanted, the men were allowed to come to the gang-way, and trade for themselves. Unhappily the same care was not taken to prevent frauds as had been taken before, so that the Indians, finding that they could cheat with impunity, grew insolent again, and proceeded to take great liberties. One of the canoes, having sold every thing on board, pulled forward, and the people that were in her seeing some linen hang over the ship's side to dry, one of them, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle: he was immediately called to, and required to return it; instead of which, he let his canoe drop astern, and laughed at us: a musquet was fired over his head, which did not put a stop to his mirth; another was then fired at him with small shot, which struck him upon the back; he shrunk a little when the shot hit him, but did not regard it more than one of our men would have done the stroke of a rattan: he continued with great composure to pack up the linen he had stolen. All the canoes now dropped astern about a hun-



dred yards, and all set up their song of defiance, which they continued till the ship was distant from them about four hundred yards. As they seemed to have no design to attack us, I was not willing to do them any hurt; yet I thought their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it should be reported ashore. To show them therefore that they were still in our power, though very much beyond the reach of any missile weapon with which they were acquainted, I gave the ship a yaw, and fired a four pounder so as to pass near them. The shot happened to strike the water and rise several times at a great distance beyond the canoes: this struck them with terror, and they paddled away without once looking behind them.

About two in the afternoon, we saw a pretty high island bearing west from us; and at five, saw more islands and rocks to the westward of that. We hauled our wind in order to go without them, but could not weather them before it was dark. I therefore bore up, and ran between them and the main. At seven, I was close under the first, from which a large double canoe, or rather two canoes lashed together at the distance of about a foot, and covered with boards so as to make a deck, put off, and made sail for the ship: this was the first vessel of the kind that we had seen since we left the South Sea islands. When she came near, the people on board entered very freely into conversation with Tupia, and we thought showed a friendly disposition; but when it was just dark, they ran their canoe close to the ship's side, and threw in a volley of stones, after which they paddled ashore.

We learnt from Tupia, that the people in the canoe called the island which we were under Mowtohora; it is but of a small circuit, though high, and lies six miles from the main; on the south side is anchorage in fourteen fathom water. Upon the main land S.W. by W. of this island, and apparently at no great distance from the sea, is a high round mountain, which I called

Mount Edgecombe: it stands in the middle of a large plain, and is therefore the more conspicuous; latitude  $37^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $193^{\circ} 7'$ .

In standing westward, we suddenly shoaled our water from seventeen to ten fathom; and knowing that we were not far from the small islands and rocks which we had seen before dark, and which I intended to have passed before I brought to for the night, I thought it more prudent to tack, and spend the night under Mowtohora, where I knew there was no danger. It was indeed happy for us that we did so; for in the morning, after we had made sail to the westward, we discovered, ahead of us, several rocks, some of which were level with the surface of the water, and some below it: they lay N.N.E. from Mount Edgecombe, one league and a half distant from the island Mowtohora, and about nine miles from the main. We passed between these rocks and the main, having from ten to seven fathom water.

This morning, many canoes and much people were seen along the shore; several of the canoes followed us, but none of them could reach us, except one with a sail, which proved to be the same that had pelted us the night before. The people again entered into conversation with Tupia; but we expected another volley of their ammunition, which was not indeed dangerous to any thing but the cabin windows. They continued abreast of the ship about an hour, and behaved very peaceably; but at last the salute which we expected was given; we returned it by firing a musquet over them, and they immediately dropped a-stern and left us, perhaps rather satisfied with having given a test of their courage by twice insulting a vessel so much superior to their own, than intimidated by the shot.

At half an hour after ten, we passed between a low flat island and the main: the distance from one to the other was about four miles, and the depth of water from ten to twelve fathom. The main land between

this flat island and Mowtohora is of a moderate height, but level, pretty clear of wood, and full of plantations and villages. The villages, which were larger than any we had yet seen, were built upon eminences near the sea, and fortified on the land side by a bank and ditch, with a high paling within it, which was carried all round: beside a bank, ditch, and pallisadoes, some of them appeared to have out-works. Tupia had a notion that the small inclosures of pallisadoes, and a ditch that we had seen before, were morais or places of worship; but we were of opinion that they were forts, and concluded that these people had neighbouring enemies, and were always exposed to hostile attacks.

At two o'clock we passed a small high island, lying four miles from a high round head upon the main. From this head the land trends N.W. as far as can be seen, and has a rugged and hilly appearance. As the weather was hazy, and the wind blew fresh on the shore, we hauled off for the weathermost island in sight, which bore from us N.N.E. distant about six or seven leagues.

Under this island, which I have called the Mayor, we spent the night. At seven in the morning it bore S. 47 E. distant six leagues, and a cluster of small islands and rocks bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant one league, to which I gave the name of the Court of Aldermen. They lie in the compass of about half a league every way, and five leagues from the main, between which and them lie other islands, most of them barren rocks, of which there is great variety: some of them are as small in compass as the Monument of London, but rise to a much greater height, and some of them are inhabited. They lie in latitude  $36^{\circ} 57'$ , and at noon bore S. 60 E. distant three or four leagues; and a rock like a castle, lying not far from the main, bore N. 40 W. at the distance of one league. The country that we passed the night before, appeared to be well inhabited, many towns were in sight, and some hundreds of large canoes lay under them upon the

beach ; but this day, after having sailed about fifteen leagues, it appeared to be barren and desolate. As far as we had yet coasted this country from Cape Turnagain, the people acknowledged one chief, whom they called Teratu, and to whose residence they pointed, in a direction that we thought to be very far inland, but afterwards found to be otherwise.

About one o'clock three canoes came off to us from the main, with one and twenty men on board. The construction of these vessels appeared to be more simple than that of any we had seen, they being nothing more than trunks of a single tree hollowed by fire, without any convenience or ornament. The people on board were almost naked, and appeared to be of a browner complexion ; yet naked and despicable as they were, they sung their song of defiance, and seemed to denounce against us inevitable destruction : they remained however, some time out of stones throw, and then venturing nearer, with less appearance of hostility, one of our men went to the ship side, and was about to hand them a rope ; this courtesey, however, they thought fit to return by throwing a lance at him, which having missed him, they immediately threw another into the ship : upon this a musquet was fired over them, which at once sent them away.

About two, we saw a large opening, or inlet, for which we bore up ; we had now forty-one fathom water, which gradually decreased to nine, at which time we were one mile and an half distant from a high towered rock which lay near the south point of the inlet : this rock, and the northernmost of the Court of Aldermen being in one, bearing S. 61 E.

About seven in the evening we anchored in seven fathom, a little within the south entrance of the bay : to this place we were accompanied by several canoes and people like those we had seen last, and for some time they behaved very civilly. While they were hovering about us, a bird was shot from the ship, as it was swimming upon the water : at this they shewed less

surprize than we expected, and taking up the bird, they tied it to a fishing line that was towing astern; as an acknowledgement for this favour we gave them a piece of cloth; but notwithstanding this effect of our fire-arms, and this interchange of civilities, as soon as it grew dark they sung their war song, and attempted to tow away the buoy of the anchor. Two or three musquets were then fired over them, but this seemed rather to make them angry than afraid, and they went away, threatening that to-morrow they would return with more force, and be the death of us all; at the same time sending off a boat, which they told us was going to another part of the bay for assistance.

There was some appearance of generosity, as well as courage, in acquainting us with the time when they intended to make their attack, but they forfeited all credit which this procured them, by coming secretly upon us in the night, when they certainly hoped to find us asleep: upon approaching the ship they found themselves mistaken, and therefore retired without speaking a word, supposing that they were too early; after some time they came a second time, and being again disappointed, they retired as silently as before.

In the morning at day-break, they prepared to effect by force what they had in vain attempted by stealth and artifice: no less than twelve canoes came against us, with about a hundred and fifty men, all armed with pikes, lances, and stones. As they could do nothing till they came very near the ship, Tupia was ordered to expostulate with them, and if possible divert them from their purpose: during the conversation they appeared to be sometimes friendly and sometimes otherwise; at length, however, they began to trade, and we offered to purchase their weapons, which some of them consented to sell: they sold two very fairly, but having received what had been agreed for the purchase of a third, they refused to send it up, but offered it for a second price; a second was sent down, but the weapon was still detained, and a demand



made of a third; this being refused with some expressions of displeasure and resentment, the offender, with many ludicrous tokens of contempt and defiance, paddled his canoe off a few yards from the ship. As I intended to continue in this place five or six days, in order to make an observation of the transit of Mercury, it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent future mischief, to shew these people that we were not to be treated ill with impunity; some small shot were therefore fired at the thief, and a musquet ball through the bottom of his boat: upon this it was paddled to about a hundred yards distance, and to our great surprize the people in the other canoes took not the least notice of their wounded companion, though he bled very much, but returned to the ship, and continued to trade with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. They sold us many more of their weapons without making any other attempt to defraud us, for a considerable time; at last, however, one of them thought fit to paddle away with two different pieces of cloth which had been given for the same weapon: when he had got about an hundred yards distance, and thought himself secure of his prize, a musket was fired after him, which fortunately struck the boat just at the water's edge, and made two holes in her side; this only incited them to ply their paddles with greater activity, and the rest of the canoes also made off with the utmost expedition. As the last proof of our superiority, therefore, we fired a round shot over them, and not a boat stopped till they got on shore.

About ten o'clock, I went with two boats to sound the bay, and look out for a more convenient anchoring-place, the master being in one boat and myself in the other. We pulled first over to the north shore, from which some canoes came out to meet us; as we advanced, however, they retired, inviting us to follow them: but, seeing them all armed, I did not think it proper to comply, but went towards the head of the bay, where I observed a village upon a very high

point, fortified in the manner that has been already described, and having fixed upon an anchoring-place not far from where the ship lay, I returned on board.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, I weighed, run in nearer to the shore, and anchored in four fathom and an half water, with a soft sandy bottom, the south point of the bay bearing E. distant one mile, and a river which the boats can enter at low water S.S.E. distant a mile and an half.

In the morning, the natives came off again to the ship, and we had the satisfaction to observe that their behaviour was very different from what it had been yesterday: among them was an old man, whom we had before remarked for his prudence and honesty: his name was Toiava, and he seemed to be a person of a superior rank; in the transactions of yesterday morning he had behaved with great propriety and good sense, lying in a small canoe, always near the ship, and treating those on board as if he neither intended a fraud nor suspected an injury: with some persuasion this man and another came on board, and ventured into the cabin, where I presented each of them with a piece of English cloth and some spike nails. They told us that the Indians were now very much afraid of us, and on our part we promised friendship if they would behave peaceably, desiring only to purchase what they had to sell upon their own terms.

After the natives had left us, I went with the pinace and long-boat into the river with a design to haul the seine, and sent the master in the yawl to sound the bay and dredge for fish. The Indians who were on one side of the river, expressed their friendship by all the signs they could devise, beckoning us to land among them; but we chose to go ashore on the other side, as the situation was more convenient for hauling the seine and shooting birds, of which we saw great numbers of various kinds: the Indians with much persuasion, about noon, ventured over to us. With

the seine we had very little success, catching only a few mullets, neither did we get any thing by the trawl or the dredge, except a few shells; but we shot several birds, most of them resembling sea-pies, except that they had black plumage, and red bills and feet. While we were absent with our guns, the people who staid by the boats saw two of the Indians quarrel and fight: they began the battle with their lances, but some old men interposed and took them away, leaving them to decide the difference, like Englishmen, with their fists: they boxed with great vigour and obstinacy for some time, but by degrees all retired behind a little hill, so that our people could not see the event of the combat.

In the morning the long-boat was sent again to trawl in the bay, and an officer, with the marines, and a party of men, to cut wood and haul the seine. The Indians on shore appeared very peaceable and submissive, and we had reason to believe that their habitations were at a considerable distance, for we saw no houses, and found that they slept under the bushes: the bay is probably a place to which they frequently resort in parties to gather shell-fish, of which it affords incredible plenty, for wherever we went, whether upon the hills or in the vallies, the woods or the plains, we saw vast heaps of shells, often many waggon loads together, some appearing to be very old, and others recent. We saw no cultivation in this place, which had a desolate and barren appearance; the tops of the hills were green, but nothing grew there except a large kind of fern, the roots of which the natives had got together in large quantities, in order to carry away with them. In the evening Mr. Banks walked up the river, which at the mouth looked fine and broad, but at the distance of about two miles was not deep enough to cover the foot; and the country inland was still more barren than at the sea-side. The seine and dredge were not more successful to-day than yesterday, but the Indians in some

measure compensated for the disappointment by bringing us several baskets of fish, some dry, and some fresh dressed; it was not indeed of the best, but I ordered it all to be bought for the encouragement of trade.

On the 7th, the weather was so bad that none of us left the ship, nor did any of the Indians come on board.

On the 8th, I sent a party of men on shore to wood and water; and in the mean time many canoes came off, in one of which was our friend Toiava; soon after he was alongside of the ship, he saw two canoes coming from the opposite side of the bay, upon which he hasted back again to the shore with all his canoes, telling us that he was afraid of the people who were coming: this was a farther proof that the people of this country were perpetually committing hostilities against each other. In a short time, however, he returned, having discovered that the people who had alarmed him were not the same that he had supposed. The natives that came to the ship this morning sold us, for a few pieces of cloth, as much fish of the mackrel kind as served the whole ship's company, and they were as good as ever were eaten. At noon, this day, I observed the sun's meridional zenith distance by an astronomical quadrant, which gave the latitude  $36^{\circ} 47' 43''$  within the south entrance of the bay.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore and collected a great variety of plants, altogether unknown, and not returning till the evening, had an opportunity of observing in what manner the Indians disposed themselves to pass the night. They had no shelter but a few shrubs: the women and the children were ranged innermost, or farthest from the sea; the men lay in a kind of half circle round them, and their arms were set up against the trees close by them, in a manner which showed that they were afraid of an attack by some enemy not far distant. It was also discovered that they acknowledged neither Teratu, nor any other person as their king: as in this particular

they differed from all the people that we had seen upon other parts of the coast, we thought it possible that they might be a set of outlaws, in a state of rebellion against Teratu, and in that case they might have no settled habitations, or cultivated land in any part of the country.

On the 9th, at day-break, a great number of canoes came on board, loaded with mackrel of two sorts, one exactly the same with those caught in England, and the other somewhat different: we imagined the people had taken a large shoal, and brought us an overplus which they could not consume; for they sold them at a very low rate. They were, however, very welcome to us; at eight o'clock, the ship had more fish on board than all her people could eat in three days; and before night, the quantity was so much increased, that every man who could get salt, cured as many as would last him a month.

After an early breakfast, I went ashore, with Mr. Green and proper instruments, to observe the transit of Mercury, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander being of the party; the weather had for some time been very thick, with much rain, but this day was so favourable that not a cloud intervened during the whole transit. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, while I was employed in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. It came on at  $7^h 20' 58''$  apparent time: according to Mr. Green's observation, the internal contact was at  $12^h 8' 58''$ , the external at  $12^h 9' 55''$  P. M. And according to mine, the internal contact was at  $12^h 8' 54''$ , and the external  $12^h 9' 48''$ ; the latitude of the place of observation was  $30^\circ 48' 5\frac{1}{2}''$ . The latitude observed at noon was  $36^\circ 48' 28''$ . The mean of this and yesterday's observation gives  $36^\circ 48' 5\frac{1}{2}''$  S. the latitude of the place of observation; the variation of the compass was  $11^\circ 9'$  E.

About noon, we were alarmed by the firing of a great gun from the ship; Mr. Gore, my second lieu-



tenant, was at this time commanding officer on board, and the account that he gave was this. While some small canoes were trading with the people, two very large ones came up, full of men, one of them having on board forty-seven, all armed with pikes, darts, and stones, and apparently with a hostile intention: they appeared to be strangers, and to be rather conscious of superiority over us by their numbers, than afraid of any weapons which could give us the superiority over them; no attack however was made; probably because they learnt from the people in the other canoes, with whom they immediately entered into conference, what kind of an enemy they had to deal with; after a little time they began to trade, some of them offering their arms, and one of them a square piece of cloth, which makes a part of their dress, called a *Haahow*; several of the weapons were purchased, and Mr. Gore having agreed for a *Haahow*, sent down the price, which was a piece of British cloth, and expected his purchase: but the Indian, as soon as he had got Mr. Gore's cloth in his possession, refused to part with his own, and put off the canoe: upon being threatened for this fraud, he and his companions began to sing their war song in defiance, and shook their paddles: still however they began no attack, only defying Mr. Gore to take any remedy in his power, which so provoked him that he levelled a musquet loaded with ball at the offender, while he was holding the cloth in his hand, and shot him dead. It would have been happy, if the effect of a few small shot had been tried upon this occasion, which upon some others had been successful.

When the Indian dropped, all the canoes put off to some distance; but as they did not go away, it was thought they might still meditate an attack. To secure therefore a safe passage for the boat, which it was necessary to send on shore, a round shot was fired over their heads, which effectually answered the purpose, and put them all to flight. When an account of what

had happened was brought ashore, our Indians were alarmed, and drawing altogether, retreated in a body. After a short time, however, they returned, having heard a more particular account of the affair; and intimated that they thought the man who had been killed deserved his fate.

A little before sunset the Indians retired to eat their supper, and we went with them to be spectators of the repast; it consisted of fish of different kinds, among which were lobsters, and some birds, of a species unknown to us: these were either roasted or baked; to roast them, they fastened them upon a small stick, which was stuck up in the ground, inclining towards their fire; and to bake them, they put them into a hole in the ground with hot stones, in the same manner as the people of Otaheite.

Among the natives that were assembled upon this occasion, we saw a woman, who, after their manner, was mourning for the death of her relation: she sat upon the ground near the rest, who, one only excepted, seemed not at all to regard her: the tears constantly trickled down her cheeks, and she repeated in a low, but very mournful voice, words, which even Tupia did not at all understand; at the end of every sentence she cut her arms, her face, or her breast, with a shell that she held in her hand, so that she was almost covered with blood, and was indeed one of the most affecting spectacles that can be conceived. The cuts, however, did not appear to be so deep as are sometimes made upon similar occasions, if we may judge by the scars which we saw upon the arms, thighs, breasts, and cheeks of many of them, which we were told were the remains of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as testimonies of their affection and sorrow.

The next day I went with two boats, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen, to examine a large river that empties itself into the head of the bay. We rowed about four or five miles up, and

could have gone much farther if the weather had been favourable. It was here wider than at the mouth, and divided into many streams by small flat islands, which are covered with mangroves, and overflowed at high water. From these trees exudes a viscous substance which very much resembles resin; we found it first in small lumps upon the sea beach, and now saw it sticking to the trees, by which we knew whence it came. We landed on the east side of the river, where we saw a tree upon which several shags had built their nests, and here therefore we determined to dine; twenty of the shags were soon killed, and being broiled upon the spot, afforded us an excellent meal. We then went upon the hills from whence I thought I saw the head of the river. The shore on each side, as well as the islands in the middle, were covered with mangroves; and the sandbanks abounded in cockles and clams: in many places there were rock oysters, and every where plenty of wild fowl, principally shags, ducks, curleus, and the sea-pie, that has been described before. We also saw fish in the river, but of what kind we could not discover: the country on the east side of this river is for the most part barren, and destitute of wood; but on the west it has a better aspect, and in some places is adorned with trees, but has in no part the appearance of cultivation. In the entrance of the river, and for two or three miles up, there is good anchoring in four and five fathom water, and places very convenient for laying a vessel on shore, where the tide rises and falls seven feet at the full and change of the moon. We could not determine, whether any considerable stream of fresh water came into this river out of the country; but we saw a number of small rivulets issue from the adjacent hills. Near the mouth of this river, on the east side, we found a little Indian village, consisting of small temporary sheds, where we landed, and were received by the people with the utmost kindness and hospitality: they treated us with a flat shell-

fish of a most delicious taste, somewhat like a cockle, which we eat hot from the coals. Near this place is a high point or peninsula, projecting into the river, and upon it are the remains of a fort, which they call *Eppah* or *Heppah*. The best engineer in Europe could not have chosen a situation better adapted to enable a small number to defend themselves against a greater. The steepness of the cliffs renders it wholly inaccessible from the water which incloses it on three sides; and, to the land, it is fortified by a ditch, and a bank raised on the inside: from the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch, is two and twenty feet; the ditch on the outside is fourteen feet deep, and its breadth is in proportion. The whole seemed to have been executed with great judgment; and there had been a row of pickets or pallisadoes, both on the top of the bank and along the brink of the ditch on the outside; those on the outside had been driven very deep into the ground, and were inclined towards the ditch, so as to project over it; but of these the thickest posts only were left, and upon them there were evident marks of fire, so that the place had probably been taken and destroyed by an enemy. If any occasion should make it necessary for a ship to winter here, or stay any time, tents might be built in this place, which is sufficiently spacious, with great convenience, and might easily be made impregnable to the whole country.

On the eleventh, there was so much wind and rain that no canoe came off; but the long-boat was sent to fetch oysters from one of the beds which had been discovered the day before: the boat soon returned, deeply laden, and the oysters, which were as good as ever came from Colchester, and about the same size, were laid down under the booms, and the ship's company did nothing but eat them from the time they came on board till night, when, as may reasonably be supposed, great part of them were expended; this, however, gave us no concern, as we knew

that not the boat only, but the ship, might have been loaded, almost in one tide, as the beds are dry at half ebb.

In the morning of Sunday the 12th, two canoes came off full of people whom we had never seen before, but who appeared to have heard of us by the caution which they used in approaching us. As we invited them to come alongside with all the tokens of friendship that we could shew, they ventured up, and two of them came on board; the rest traded very fairly for what they had: a small canoe also came from the other side of the bay, and sold us some very large fish, which they gave us to understand they would have brought yesterday, having caught them the day before, but that the wind was so high they could not venture to sea.

After breakfast, I went with the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, over to the north side of the bay, to take a view of the country, and two fortified villages which we had discovered at a distance. We landed near the smallest of them, the situation of which was the most beautifully romantic that can be imagined; it was built upon a small rock, detached from the main, and surrounded at high water. The whole body of this rock was perforated by an hollow or arch, which possessed much the largest part of it; the top of the arch was about sixty feet perpendicular above the sea, which at high water flowed through the bottom of it; the whole summit of the rock above the arch was fenced round after their manner; but the area was not large enough to contain more than five or six houses: it was accessible only by one very narrow and steep path, by which the inhabitants, at our approach, came down, and invited us into the place; but we refused, intending to visit a much more considerable fort of the same kind at about a mile's distance. We made some presents however to the women, and in the mean time we saw the inhabitants of the town which we were going to, coming towards us in a body, men, women, and children, to the



number of about one hundred : when they came near enough to be heard, they waved their hands and called out *Horbmai* ; after which they sat down among the bushes near the beach : these ceremonies we were told were certain signs of their friendly disposition. We advanced to the place where they were sitting, and when we came up, made them a few presents, and asked leave to visit their Heppah ; they consented with joy in their countenances, and immediately led the way. It is called Wharretouwa, and is situated upon a high promontory or point, which projects into the sea, on the north side, and near the head of the bay : two sides of it are washed by the sea, and these are altogether inaccessible ; two other sides are to the land : up one of them, which is very steep, lies the avenue from the beach ; the other is flat and open to the country upon the hill, which is a narrow ridge ; the whole is inclosed by a pallisade about ten feet high, consisting of strong pales bound together with withes. The weak side next the land is also defended by a double ditch, the innermost of which has a bank and an additional pallisade ; the inner pallisades are upon the bank next the town, but at such a distance from the top of the bank as to leave room for men to walk and use their arms, between them and the inner ditch ; the outermost pallisades are between the two ditches, and driven obliquely into the ground, so that their upper ends incline over the inner ditch : the depth of this ditch, from the bottom to the top or crown of the bank, is four and twenty feet. Close within the innermost pallisade is a stage, twenty feet high, forty feet long, and six broad ; it is supported by strong posts, and is intended as a station for those who defend the place, from which they may annoy the assailants by darts and stones, heaps of which lay ready for use. Another stage of the same kind commands the steep avenue from the beach, and stands also within the pallisade ; on this side of the hill there are some little

outworks and huts, not intended as advanced posts, but as the habitations of people who for want of room could not be accommodated within the works, but who were, notwithstanding, desirous of placing themselves under their protection. The pallisades, as has been observed already, run round the whole brow of the hill, as well towards the sea as towards the land; but the ground within having originally been a mount, they have reduced it not to one level, but to several, rising in stages one above the other, like an amphitheatre, each of which is inclosed within its separate pallisade; they communicate with each other by narrow lanes, which might easily be stopt up, so that if an enemy should force the outward pallisade, he would have others to carry before the place could be wholly reduced, supposing these places to be obstinately defended one after the other. The only entrance is by a narrow passage, about twelve feet long, communicating with the steep ascent from the beach: it passes under one of the fighting stages, and though we saw nothing like a door or gateway, it may be easily barricaded in a manner that will make the forcing it a very dangerous and difficult undertaking. Upon the whole, this must be considered as a place of great strength, in which a small number of resolute men may defend themselves against all the force which a people with no other arms than those that are in use here could bring against it. It seemed to be well furnished for a siege with every thing but water; we saw great quantities of fern root, which they eat as bread, and dried fish piled up in heaps; but we could not perceive that they had any fresh water nearer than a brook, which runs close under the foot of the hill: whether they have any means of getting it from this place during a siege, or whether they have any method of storing it within the works in gourds or other vessels, we could not learn; some resource they certainly have with respect to this article, an indispensable necessary of life, for other-

wise the laying up dry provisions could answer no purpose. Upon our expressing a desire to see their method of attack and defence, one of the young men mounted a fighting stage, which they call *Porava*, and another went into the ditch: both he that was to defend the place, and he that was to assault it, sung the war-song, and danced with the same frightful gesticulations that we had seen used in more serious circumstances, to work themselves up into a degree of that mechanical fury, which, among all uncivilized nations, is the necessary prelude to a battle; for dispassionate courage, a strength of mind that can surmount the sense of danger, without a flow of animal spirits by which it is extinguished, seems to be the prerogative of those who have projects of more lasting importance, and a keener sense of honour and disgrace, than can be formed or felt by men who have few pains or pleasures besides those of mere animal life, and scarcely any purpose but to provide for the day that is passing over them, to obtain plunder, or revenge an insult: they will march against each other indeed in cool blood, though they find it necessary to work themselves into passion before they engage; as among us there have been many instances of people who have deliberately made themselves drunk, that they might execute a project which they formed when they were sober, but which, while they continued so, they did not dare to undertake.

On the side of the hill, near this inclosure, we saw about half an acre planted with gourds and sweet potatoes, which was the only cultivation in the bay: under the foot of the point upon which this fortification stands, are two rocks, one just broken off from the main, and the other not perfectly detached from it: they are both small, and seem more proper for the habitations of birds than men; yet there are houses and places of defence upon each of them. And we saw many other works of the same kind upon small islands, rocks, and ridges of hills, on different

parts of the coast, besides many fortified towns, which appeared to be much superior to this.

The perpetual hostility in which these poor savages, who have made every village a fort, must necessarily live, will account for there being so little of their land in a state of cultivation ; and, as mischiefs very often reciprocally produce each other, it may perhaps appear, that there being so little land in a state of cultivation, will account for their living in perpetual hostility. But it is very strange, that the same invention and diligence which have been used in the construction of places so admirably adapted for defence, almost without tools, should not, when urged by the same necessity, have furnished them with a single missile weapon except the lance, which is thrown by hand: they have no contrivance like a bow to discharge a dart, nor any thing like a sling to assist them in throwing a stone; which is the more surprising, as the invention of slings, and bows and arrows, is much more obvious than of the works which these people construct, and both these weapons are found among much ruder nations, and in almost every other part of the world. Besides the long lance and patoo-patoo, which have been mentioned already, they have a staff about five feet long, sometimes pointed, like a serjeant's halberd, sometimes only tapering to a point at one end, and having the other end broad, and shaped somewhat like the blade of an oar. They have also another weapon, about a foot shorter than these, pointed at one end, and at the other shaped like an axe. The points of their long lances are barbed, and they handle them with such strength and agility, that we can match them with no weapon but a loaded musquet.

After taking a slight view of the country, and loading both the boats with celery, which we found in great plenty near the beach, we returned from our excursion, and about five o'clock in the evening got on board the ship.

On the 15th, I sailed out of the bay, and at the same time had several canoes on board, in one of which was our friend Toiava, who said, that as soon as we were gone he must repair to his Heppah or fort, because the friends of the man who had been shot by Mr. Gore on the 9th, had threatened to revenge his death upon him, whom they had reproached as being our friend. Off the north point of the bay, I saw a great number of islands, of various extent, which lay scattered to the north west, in a direction parallel with the main as far as I could see. I steered north east for the north easternmost of these islands; but the wind coming to the north west, I was obliged to stand out to sea.

To the bay which we had now left I gave the name of Mercury Bay, on account of the observation which we had made there of the transit of that planet over the sun. It lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 47' S.$ ; and in the longitude of  $184^{\circ} 4' W.$ : there are several islands lying both to the southward and northward of it, and a small island or rock in the middle of the entrance: within this island the depth of water no where exceeds nine fathom: the best anchoring is in a sandy bay, which lies just within the south head, in five and four fathom, bringing a high tower or rock, which lies without the head, in one with the head, or just shut in behind it. This place is very convenient both for wooding and watering, and in the river there is an immense quantity of oysters and other shell-fish: I have for this reason given it the name of Oyster River. But for a ship that wants to stay here any time, the best and safest place is in the river at the head of the bay; which, from the number of mangrove trees about it, I have called Mangrove River. To sail into this river, the south shore must be kept all the way on board. The country on the east side of the river and bay is very barren, its only produce being fern, and a few other plants that will grow in a poor soil. The land on the north west side is covered



with wood, and the soil being much more fertile, would doubtless produce all the necessaries of life with proper cultivation : it is not, however, so fertile as the lands that we have seen to the southward ; nor do the inhabitants, though numerous, make so good an appearance : they have no plantations ; their canoes are mean, and without ornament ; they sleep in the open air ; and say, that Teratu, whose sovereignty they do not acknowledge, if he was to come among them, would kill them. This favoured our opinion of their being outlaws ; yet they told us, that they had Heppahs or strong holds, to which they retired in time of imminent danger.

We found, thrown upon the shore, in several parts of this bay, great quantities of iron-sand, which is brought down by every little rivulet of fresh water that finds its way from the country ; which is a demonstration that there is ore of that metal not far inland : yet neither the inhabitants of this place, or any other part of the coast that we have seen, know the use of iron, or set the least value upon it ; all of them preferring the most worthless and useless trifle, not only to a nail, but to any tool of that metal.

Before we left the bay, we cut upon one of the trees near the watering-place the ship's name, and that of the commander, with the date of the year and month when we were there ; and, after displaying the English colours, I took a formal possession of it in the name of his Britannic Majesty King George the Third.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Range from Mercury Bay to the Bay of Islands : an Expedition up the River Thames : some Account of the Indians who inhabit its Banks, and the fine Timber that grows there : several Interviews with the Natives on different Parts of the Coast, and a Skirmish with them upon an Island.*

I CONTINUED plying to windward two days to get under the land, and on the 18th, about seven in the morning, we were abreast of a very conspicuous promontory, being then in latitude  $36^{\circ} 26'$ , and in the direction of N. 48 W. from the north head of Mercury Bay or Point Mercury, which was distant nine leagues: upon this point stood many people, who seemed to take little notice of us, but talked together with great earnestness. In about half an hour, several canoes put off from different places, and came towards the ship; upon which the people on the point also launched a canoe, and about twenty of them came in her up with the others. When two of these canoes, in which there might be about sixty men, came near enough to make themselves heard, they sung their war-song; but seeing that we took little notice of it, they threw a few stones at us, and then rowed off towards the shore. We hoped that we had now done with them, but in a short time they returned, as if with a fixed resolution to provoke us into a battle, animating themselves by their song as they had done before. Tupia, without any directions from us, went to the poop, and began to expostulate: he told them, that we had weapons which would destroy them in a moment; and that, if they ventured to attack us, we should be obliged to use them. Upon this, they flourished their weapons, and cried out, in their

language, "Come on shore, and we will kill you all:" Well, said Tupia, but why should you molest us while we are at sea? as we do not wish to fight, we shall not accept your challenge to come on shore; and here there is no pretence for a quarrel, the sea being no more your property than the ship. This eloquence of Tupia, though it greatly surprised us, having given him no hints for the arguments he used, had no effect upon our enemies, who very soon renewed their battery: a musquet was then fired through one of their boats, and this was an argument of sufficient weight, for they immediately fell astern and left us.

From the point, of which we were now abreast, the land trends W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. near a league, and then S.S.E. as far as we could see; and, besides the islands that lay without us, we could see land round by the S.W. as far as the N.W.; but whether this was the main or islands, we could not then determine: the fear of losing the main, however, made me resolve to follow its direction. With this view, I hauled round the point and steered to the southward, but there being light airs all round the compass, we made but little progress.

About one o'clock, a breeze sprung up at east, which afterwards came to N.E. and we steered along the shore S. by E. and S.S.E. having from twenty-five to eighteen fathom.

At about half an hour after seven in the evening, having run seven or eight leagues since noon, I anchored in twenty-three fathom, not chusing to run any farther in the dark, as I had now land on both sides, forming the entrance of a streight, bay, or river, lying S. by E. for on that point we could see no land.

At day-break, on the 19th, the wind being still favourable, we weighed and stood with an easy sail up the inlet, keeping nearest to the east side. In a short time, two large canoes came off to us from the shore; the people on board said, that they knew Toiava very

well, and called Tupia by his name. I invited some of them on board; and as they knew they had nothing to fear from us, while they behaved honestly and peaceably, they immediately complied: I made each of them some presents, and dismissed them much gratified. Other canoes afterwards came up to us from a different side of the bay; and the people on board of these also mentioned the name of Toiava, and sent a young man into the ship, who told us he was his grandson, and he also was dismissed with a present.

After having run about five leagues from the place where we had anchored the night before, our depth of water gradually decreased to six fathom; and not chusing to go into less, as it was tide of flood, and the wind blew right up the inlet, I came to an anchor about the middle of the channel, which is near eleven miles over; after which I sent two boats out to sound, one on one side, and the other on the other.

The boats not having found above three feet more water than we were now in, I determined to go no farther with the ship, but to examine the head of the bay in the boats; for, as it appeared to run a good way inland, I thought this a favourable opportunity to examine the interior part of the country, and its produce.

At day-break, therefore, I set out in the pinnace and long-boat, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and Tupia; and we found the inlet end in a river, about nine miles above the ship: into this river we entered with the first of the flood, and within three miles found the water perfectly fresh. Before we had proceeded more than one third of that distance, we found an Indian town, which was built upon a small bank of dry sand, but entirely surrounded by a deep mud, which possibly the inhabitants might consider as a defence. These people as soon as they saw us, thronged to the banks, and invited us on shore. We accepted the invitation, and made them a visit notwithstanding the mud. They received us

with open arms, having heard of us from our good old friend Toiava; but our stay could not be long, as we had other objects of curiosity in view. We proceeded up the river till near noon, when we were fourteen miles within its entrance; and then, finding the face of the country to continue nearly the same, without any alteration in the course of the stream, which we had no hope of tracing to its source, we landed on the west side, to take a view of the lofty trees which every where adorned its banks. They were of a kind that we had seen before, though only at a distance, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay. Before we had walked an hundred yards into the wood, we met with one of them which was nineteen feet eight inches in the girth, at the height of six feet above the ground: having a quadrant with me I measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet: it was as strait as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; so that I judged there were three hundred and fifty-six feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. As we advanced, we saw many others that were still larger; we cut down a young one, and the wood proved heavy and solid, not fit for masts, but such as would make the finest plank in the world. Our carpenter, who was with us, said that the timber resembled that of the pitch-pine, which is lightened by tapping; and possibly some such method might be found to lighten these, and they would then be such masts as no country in Europe can produce. As the wood was swampy, we could not range far; but we found many stout trees of other kinds, all of them utterly unknown to us, specimens of which we brought away.

The river at this height is as broad as the Thames at Greenwich, and the tide of flood as strong; it is not indeed quite so deep, but has water enough for vessels of more than a middle size, and a bottom of mud, so soft that nothing could take damage by running ashore.



About three o'clock, we re embarked, in order to return with the first of the ebb, and named the river the Thames, it having some resemblance to our own river of that name. In our return, the inhabitants of the village where we had been ashore, seeing us take another channel, came off to us in their canoes, and trafficked with us in the most friendly manner, till they had disposed of the few trifles they had. The tide of ebb just carried us out of the narrow part of the river, into the channel that ran up from the sea, before it was dark; and we pulled hard to reach the ship, but meeting the flood, and a strong breeze at N.N.W. with showers of rain, we were obliged to desist; and about midnight, we run under the land, and came to a grapping, where we took such rest as our situation would admit. At break of day, we set forward again, and it was past seven o'clock before we reached the ship. We were all extremely tired, but thought ourselves happy to be on board; for before nine it blew so hard that the boat could not have rowed ahead, and must therefore either have gone ashore, or taken shelter under it.

About three o'clock, having the tide of ebb, we took up our anchor, made sail, and plied down the river till eight in the evening, when we came to an anchor again; early in the morning we made sail with the first ebb, and kept plying till the flood obliged us once more to come to an anchor. As we had now only a light breeze, I went in the pinnace, accompanied by Dr. Solander, to the western shore; but I saw nothing worthy of notice.

When I left the ship, many canoes were about it; Mr. Banks therefore chose to stay on board, and traffic with the natives: they bartered their clothes and arms, chiefly for paper, and behaved with great friendship and honesty. But while some of them were below with Mr. Banks, a young man who was upon the deck stole a half minute glass which was in the binacle, and was detected just as he was carrying it

off. Mr. Hicks, who was commanding officer on board, took it into his head to punish him, by giving him twelve lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails; and accordingly ordered him to be taken to the gang-way, and tied up to the shrouds. When the other Indians who were on board saw him seized, they attempted to rescue him; and being resisted, called for their arms, which were handed up from the canoes, and the people of one of them attempted to come up the ship's side. The tumult was heard by Mr. Banks, who, with Tupia, came hastily upon the deck to see what had happened. The Indians immediately ran to Tupia, who, finding Mr. Hicks inexorable, could only assure them, that nothing was intended against the life of their companion; but that it was necessary he should suffer some punishment for his offence, which being explained to them, they seemed to be satisfied. The punishment was then inflicted, and as soon as the criminal was unbound, an old man among the spectators, who was supposed to be his father, gave him a hearty beating, and sent him down into his canoe. All the canoes then dropped a-stern, and the people said that they were afraid to come any more near the ship: after much persuasion, however, they ventured back again, but their cheerful confidence was at an end, and their stay was short; they promised indeed, at their departure, to return with some fish, but we saw no more of them.

On the 23d, the wind being contrary, we kept plying down the river, and at seven in the evening, got without the N.W. point of the islands lying on the west side of it. The weather being bad, night coming on, and having land on every side of us, I thought it most advisable to tack, and stretch in under the point, where we anchored in nineteen fathom. At five in the morning of the 24th, we weighed, and made sail to the N.W. under our courses and double reefed top sails, the wind being at S.W. by W. and W.S.W. a strong gale and squally. As the gale would not permit us to

come near the land, we had but a slight and distant view of it from the time when we got under sail till noon, during a run of twelve leagues, but we never once lost sight of it. At this time, our latitude, by observation, was  $36^{\circ} 15' 20''$ , we were not above two miles from a point of land on the main, and three leagues and an half from a very high island, which bore N.E. by E. : in this situation we had twenty-six fathom water : the farthest point on the main that we could see bore N.W. but we could perceive several small islands lying to the north of that direction. The point of land of which we were now a-breast, and which I called Point Rodney, is the N.W. extremity of the river Thames ; for under that name I comprehend the deep bay which terminates in the fresh water stream, and the N.E. extremity is the promontory which we passed when we entered it, and which I called Cape Colville, in honour of the Right Honourable Lord Colville.

Cape Colville lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 26'$ , longitude  $194^{\circ} 27'$  ; it rises directly from the sea, to a considerable height, and is remarkable for a lofty rock, which stands to the pitch of the point, and may be distinguished at a very great distance. From the south point of this cape the river runs in a direct line S. by E. and is no where less than three leagues broad for the distance of fourteen leagues above the cape, and there it is contracted to a narrow stream, but continues the same course through a low flat country, or broad valley, which lies parallel with the sea coast, and the end of which we could not see. On the east side of the broad part of this river the land is tolerably high and hilly ; on the west side it is rather low, but the whole is covered with verdure and wood, and has the appearance of great fertility, though there were but a few small spots which had been cultivated. At the entrance of the narrow part of the river the land is covered with mangroves and other shrubs ; but farther, there are immense woods

of perhaps the finest timber in the world, of which some account has already been given; in several places the wood extends to the very edge of the water, and where it is at a little distance, the intermediate space is marshy, like some parts of the banks of the Thames in England: it is probable that the river contains plenty of fish, for we saw poles stuck up in many places to set nets for catching them, but of what kinds I do not know. The greatest depth of water that we found in this river was six and twenty fathom, which gradually decreased to one fathom and an half: in the mouth of the fresh water stream it is from four to three fathom, but there are large flats and sand-banks lying before it. A ship of moderate draught may, notwithstanding, go a long way up this river with a flowing tide, for it rises perpendicularly near ten feet, and at the full and change of the moon, it is high water about nine o'clock.

Six leagues within Cape Colville, under the eastern shore, are several small islands, which, together with the main, seem to form good harbours; and opposite to these islands, under the western shore, lie other islands, by which it is also probable that good harbours may be formed: but if there are no harbours about this river, there is good anchoring in every part of it where the depth of water is sufficient, for it is defended from the sea by a chain of islands of different extent, which lie across the mouth of it, and which I have, for that reason, called Barrier Islands: they stretch N.W. and S.E. ten leagues. The south end of the chain lies N.E. between two and three leagues from Cape Colville; and the north end lies N.E. four leagues and an half from Point Rodney. Point Rodney lies W.N.W. nine leagues from Cape Colville, in latitude  $36^{\circ} 15' S.$  longitude  $184^{\circ} 53' W.$

The natives residing about this river do not appear to be numerous, considering the great extent of the country. But they are a strong well-made, and ac-

tive people, and all of them paint their bodies with red ocher and oil from head to foot, which we had not seen before. Their canoes were large and well built, and adorned with carving, in as good a taste as any that we had seen upon the coast.

We continued to stand along the shore till night, with the main land on one side, and islands on the other, and then anchored in a bay, with fourteen fathom and a sandy bottom. We had no sooner come to an anchor, than we tried our lines, and in a short time caught near one hundred fish, which the people called sea-bream; they weighed from six to eight pounds a piece, and consequently would supply the whole ship's company with food for two days. From the success of our lines here, we called the place Bream Bay: the two points that form it lie north and south, five leagues from each other; it is every where of a good breadth, and between three and four leagues deep: at the bottom of it there appears to be a river of fresh water. The north head of the bay, called Bream Head, is high land, and remarkable for several pointed rocks, which stand in a range upon the top of it: it may also be known by some small islands which lie before it, called the Hen and Chickens, one of which is high, and terminates in two peaks. It lies in latitude  $35^{\circ} 46' S.$  and at the distance of seventeen leagues and an half from Cape Colville, in the direction of N. 41 W.

The land between Point Rodney and Bream Head, an extent of ten leagues, is low, and wooded in tufts, with white sand-banks between the sea and the firm lands. We saw no inhabitants, but many fires in the night; and where there are fires, there are always people.

At day-break, on the 25th, we left the bay, and steered along shore to the northward: we found the variation of the compass to be  $12^{\circ} 42' E.$  At noon, our latitude was  $36^{\circ} 36' S.$ , Bream Head bore south, distant ten miles: and we saw some small islands,



to which I gave the name of the Poor Knights, at N.E. by N. distant three leagues; the northermost land in sight bore N.N.W.: we were in this place at the distance of two miles from the shore, and had twenty-six fathom water.

The country appeared low, but well covered with wood: we saw some straggling houses, three or four fortified towns, and near them a large quantity of cultivated land.

In the evening, seven large canoes came off to us, with about two hundred men: some of them came on board, and said that they had heard of us. To two of them, who appeared to be chiefs, I gave presents; but when these were gone out of the ship, the others became exceedingly troublesome. Some of those in the canoes began to trade, and according to their custom, to cheat, by refusing to deliver what had been bought after they had received the price: among these was one who had received an old pair of black breeches, which, upon a few small shot being fired at him, he threw into the sea. All the boats soon after paddled off to some distance, and when they thought they were out of reach, they began to defy us, by singing their song and brandishing their weapons. We thought it advisable to intimidate them, as well for their sakes as our own, and therefore fired first some small arms, and then round shot over their heads; the last put them in a terrible fright, though they received no damage, except by over-heating themselves in paddling away, which they did with astonishing expedition.

In the night we had variable light airs; but towards the morning a breeze sprung up at S. and afterwards at S.E. with which we proceeded slowly to the northward, along the shore.

Between six and seven o'clock two canoes came off, and told us that they had heard of yesterday's adventure, notwithstanding which the people came on board, and traded very quietly and honestly for whatever they had: soon after two canoes came off from a

more distant part of the shore; these were of a much larger size, and full of people: when they came near, they called off the other canoes which were along side of the ship, and after a short conference they all came up together. The strangers appeared to be persons of a superior rank; their canoes were well carved with many ornaments, and they had with them a great variety of weapons: they had patoo-patoos both of stone and whalebone, upon which they appeared to set a great value; they had also ribs of whale, of which we had before seen imitations in wood, carved and adorned with tufts of dog's hair. Their complexions were browner than those of the people we had seen to the southward, and their bodies and faces were more marked with the black stains which they call amoco: they had a broad spiral on each buttock; and the thighs of many of them were almost intirely black, some narrow lines only being left untouched, so that at first sight they appeared to wear striped breeches. With respect to the amoco, every different tribe seemed to have a different custom, for all the men, in some canoes, seemed to be almost covered with it, and those in others had scarcely a stain, except on the lips, which were black in all of them without a single exception. These gentlemen, for a long time, refused to part with any of their weapons, whatever was offered for them; at last, however, one of them produced a piece of talc, wrought into the shape of an ax, and agreed to sell it for a piece of cloth: the cloth was handed over the ship's side, but his honour immediately put off his canoe with the ax. We had recourse to our usual expedient, and fired a musket ball over the canoe, upon which it put back to the ship, and the piece of cloth was returned; all the boats then went ashore, without offering any further intercourse.

At noon, the main land extended from S. by E. to N.W. by W. a remarkable point of land bearing W. distant four or five miles; at three we passed it, and

gave it the name of Cape Bret, in honour of Sir Piercy. The land of this cape is considerably higher than any part of the adjacent coast: at the point of it, is a high round hillock, and N.E. by N. at the distance of about a mile, is a small high island or rock, which, like several that have already been described, was perforated quite through, so as to appear like the arch of a bridge. This cape, or at least some part of it, is by the natives called Motugogogô, and it lies in latitude  $35^{\circ} 10' 30''$  S. longitude  $185^{\circ} 25'$  W. On the west side of it is a large and pretty deep bay, lying in S.W. by W. in which there appeared to be several small islands: the point that forms the N.W. entrance, lies W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. at the distance of three or four leagues from cape Bret, and I distinguished it by the name of Point Pococke. On the west side of the bay we saw several villages both upon islands and the main, and several very large canoes came off to us, full of people, who made a better appearance than any we had seen yet: they were all stout and well-made; their hair, which was black, was tied up in a bunch on the crown of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. In each of the canoes were two or three chiefs, whose habits were of the best sort of cloth, and covered with dog's skin, so as to make an agreeable appearance: most of these people were marked with the amoco, like those who had been alongside of us before: their manner of trading was also equally fraudulent; and the officers neglecting either to punish or fright them, one of the midshipmen who had been defrauded in his bargain, had recourse, for revenge, to an expedient which was equally ludicrous and severe: he got a fishing line, and when the man who had cheated him was close under the ship's side in his canoe, he heaved the lead with so good an aim that the hook caught him by the backside; he then pulled the line, and the man holding back, the hook broke in the shank, and the beard was left sticking in the flesh.

During the course of this day, though we did not

range more than six or eight leagues of the coast, we had alongside and on board the ship between four and five hundred of the natives, which is a proof that this part of the country is well inhabited.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were within a mile of a group of islands which lie close under the main, at the distance of two and twenty miles from cape Bret, in the direction of N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. At this place, having but little wind, we lay about two hours, during which time several canoes came off, and sold us some fish, which we called Cavalles, and for that reason I gave the same name to the islands. These people were very insolent, frequently threatening us, even while they were selling their fish; and when some more canoes came up, they began to pelt us with stones. Some small shot were then fired, and hit one of them while he had a stone in his hand, in the very action of throwing it into the ship: they did not, however, desist, till some others had been wounded, and then they went away, and we stood off to sea.

The wind being directly against us, we kept plying to windward till the 29th, when we had rather lost than gained ground; I therefore bore up for a bay which lies to the westward of cape Bret; at this time it was about two leagues to leeward of us; and at about eleven o'clock we anchored under the south west side of one of the many islands which line it on the south east, in four fathom and an half water; we shoaled our water to this depth all at once, and if this had not happened I should not have come to an anchor so soon. The master was immediately sent out with two boats to sound, and he soon discovered that we had got upon a bank, which runs out from the north west end of the island, and that on the outside of it there was from eight to ten fathom.

In the mean time the natives, to the number of near four hundred, crowded upon us in their canoes, and some of them were admitted on board: to one, who

seemed to be a chief, I gave a piece of broad cloth, and distributed some trifling presents among the rest. I perceived that some of these people had been about the ship when she was off at sea, and that they knew the power of our fire-arms, for the very sight of a gun threw them into manifest confusion: under this impression they traded very fairly; but the people in one of the canoes took the opportunity of our being at dinner to tow away our buoy: a musquet was fired over them without effect, we then endeavoured to reach them with some small shot, but they were too far off: by this time they had got the buoy into their canoe, and we were obliged to fire a musquet at them with ball: this hit one of them, and they immediately threw the buoy over board: a round shot was then fired over them, which struck the water and went ashore. Two or three canoes immediately landed their people, who ran about the beach, as we imagined in search of the ball. Tupia called to them, and assured them that while they were honest they should be safe, and with a little persuasion many of them returned to the ship, and their behaviour was such as left us no reason to suspect that they intended to give us any farther trouble.

After the ship was removed into deeper water, and properly secured, I went with the pinnace and yawl, manned and armed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and landed upon the island, which was about three quarters of a mile distant: we observed that the canoes which were about the ship, did not follow us upon our leaving her, which we thought a good sign; but we had no sooner landed than they crowded to different parts of the island and came on shore. We were in a little cove, and in a few minutes were surrounded by two or three hundred people, some rushing from behind the heads of the cove, and others appearing on the tops of the hills: they were all armed, but they came on in so confused and straggling a manner that we scarcely suspected they meant



us any harm, and we were determined that hostilities should not begin on our part. We marched towards them, and then drew a line upon the sand between them and us, which we gave them to understand they were not to pass: at first they continued quiet, but their weapons were held ready to strike, and they seemed to be rather irresolute than peaceable. While we remained in this state of suspense, another party of Indians came up, and now growing more bold as their number increased, they began the dance and song, which are the preludes to a battle: still, however, they delayed the attack, but a party ran to each of our boats, and attempted to draw them on shore; this seemed to be the signal, for the people about us at the same time began to press in upon our line; our situation was now become too critical for us to remain longer inactive, I therefore discharged my musket, which was loaded with small shot, at one of the forwardest, and Mr. Banks and two of the men fired immediately afterwards: this made them fall back in some confusion, but one of the chiefs, who was at the distance of about twenty yards, rallied them, and running forward waving his patoo-pateo, and calling loudly to his companions, led them to the charge. Dr. Solander whose piece was not yet discharged, fired at this champion, who stopped short upon feeling the shot, and then ran away with the rest: they did not however disperse, but got together upon a rising ground, and seemed only to want some leader of resolution to renew their attack. As they were now beyond the reach of small shot, we fired with ball, but as none of them took place they still continued in a body, and in this situation we remained about a quarter of an hour: in the mean time the ship, from whence a much greater number of Indians were seen than could be discovered in our situation, brought her broad-side to bear, and entirely dispersed them, by firing a few shots over their heads. In this skirmish only two of the Indians were hurt with the small shot,

and not a single life was lost, which would not have been the case if I had not restrained the men, who, either from fear or the love of mischief, shewed as much impatience to destroy them as a sportsman to kill his game. When we were in quiet possession of our cove, we laid down our arms and began to gather celery, which grew here in great plenty : after a little time we recollected to have seen some of the people hide themselves in a cave of one of the rocks, we therefore went towards the place, when an old Indian, who proved to be the chief that I had presented with a piece of broad cloth in the morning, came out with his wife and his brother, and in a supplicating posture put themselves under our protection. We spoke kindly to them, and the old man then told us that he had another brother, who was one of those that had been wounded by the small shot, and enquired with much solicitude and concern if he would die. We assured him that he would not, and at the same time put into his hand both a musquet ball and some small shot, telling him, that those only who were wounded with the ball would die, and that the others would recover ; at the same time assuring him, that if we were attacked again, we should certainly defend ourselves with the ball, which would wound them mortally. Having now taken courage, they came and sat down by us, and as tokens of our perfect amity, we made them presents of such trifles as we happened to have about us.

Soon after we re-imbarked in our boats, and having rowed to another cove in the same island, climbed a neighbouring hill, which commanded the country to a considerable distance. The prospect was very uncommon and romantic, consisting of innumerable islands, which formed as many harbours, where the water was as smooth as a mill-pool : we saw also many towns, scattered houses, and plantations, the country being much more populous than any we had seen. One of the towns was very near us, from which many of the Indians advanced, taking great

pains to shew us that they were unarmed, and in their gestures and countenances expressing great meekness and humility. . In the mean time some of our people, who, when the Indians were to be punished for a fraud, assumed the inexorable justice of a Lyncurgus, thought fit to break into one of their plantations, and dig up some potatoes : for this offence I ordered each of them to be punished with twelve lashes, after which two of them were discharged ; but the third, insisting that it was no crime in an Englishman to plunder an Indian plantation, though it was a crime in an Indian to defraud an Englishman of a nail, I ordered him back into his confinement, from which I would not release him till he had received six lashes more.

On the 30th, there being a dead calm, and no probability of our getting to sea, I sent the master, with two boats to sound the harbour ; and all the afternoon had several canoes about the ship, who traded in a very fair and friendly manner. In the evening we went ashore upon the main, where the people received us very cordially ; but we found nothing worthy of notice.

In this bay we were detained by contrary winds and calms several days, during which time our intercourse with the natives was continued in the most peaceable and friendly manner, they being frequently about the ship, and we ashore, both upon the islands and the main. In one of our visits to the continent, an old man shewed us the instrument they use in staining their bodies, which exactly resembled those that were employed for the same purpose at Otaheite. We saw also the man who was wounded in attempting to steal our buoy : the ball had passed through the fleshy part of his arm, and grazed his breast ; but the wound, under the care of Nature, the best surgeon, and a simple diet, the best nurse, was in a good state, and seemed to give the patient neither pain nor apprehension. We saw also the brother of our old chief, who had been wounded with small shot in our skirmish :

they had struck his thigh obliquely, and though several of them were still in the flesh, the wound seemed to be attended with neither danger nor pain. We found among their plantations the *morus papyrifera*, of which these people, as well as those of Otaheite, make cloth; but here the plant seems to be rare, and we saw no pieces of the cloth large enough for any use but to wear by way of ornament in their ears.

Having one day landed in a very distant part of the bay, the people immediately fled, except one old man, who accompanied us wherever we went, and seemed much pleased with the little presents we made him. We came at last to a little fort, built upon a small rock, which at high water was surrounded by the sea, and accessible only by a ladder: we perceived that he eyed us with a kind of restless solicitude as we approached it, and upon our expressing a desire to enter it, he told us that his wife was there: he saw that our curiosity was not diminished by this intelligence, and after some hesitation, he said, if we would promise to offer no indecency he would accompany us: our promise was readily given, and he immediately led the way. The ladder consisted of steps fastened to a pole, but we found the ascent both difficult and dangerous. When we entered we found three women, who, the moment they saw us, burst into tears of terror and surprize: some kind words and a few presents soon removed their apprehensions, and put them into good humour. We examined the house of our old friend, and by his interest two others, which were all that the fortification contained, and having distributed a few more presents, we parted with mutual satisfaction.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 5th of December, we weighed, with a light breeze, but it being variable with frequent calms, we made little way. We kept turning out of the bay till the afternoon, and about ten o'clock we were suddenly becalmed, so that the ship would neither wear nor stay, and the

tide or current setting strong, she drove towards land so fast, that before any measures could be taken for her security she was within a cable's length of the breakers: we had thirteen fathom water, but the ground was so foul that we did not dare to drop our anchor; the pinnace therefore was immediately hoisted out to take the ship in tow, and the men, sensible of their danger, exerting themselves to the utmost, and a faint breeze springing up off the land, we perceived with unspeakable joy that she made head way, after having been so near the shore that Tupia, who was not sensible of our hair's breadth escape, was at this very time conversing with the people upon the beach, whose voices were distinctly heard, notwithstanding the roar of the breakers. We now thought all danger was over, but about an hour afterwards, just as the man in the chains had cried "seventeen fathom," the ship struck. The shock threw us all into the utmost consternation; Mr. Banks, who had undressed himself and was stepping into bed, ran hastily up to the deck, and the man in the chains called out "five fathom;" by this time, the rock on which we had struck being to windward, the ship went off without having received the least damage, and the water very soon deepened to twenty fathom.

This rock lies half a mile W.N.W. of the northernmost or outermost island on the south east side of the bay. We had light airs from the land, with calms, till nine o'clock the next morning, when we got out of the bay, and a breeze springing up at N.N.W. we stood out to sea,

This bay, as I have before observed, lies on the west side of Cape Bret, and I named it the Bay of Islands, from the great number of islands which line its shores, and form several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is room and depth for any number of shipping. That in which we lay is on the south west side of the south westernmost island, called Matuaro, on the south east side of the bay. I have



made no accurate survey of this bay, being discouraged by the time it would cost me ; I thought also that it was sufficient to be able to affirm that it afforded us good anchorage, and refreshment of every kind. It was not the season for roots, but we had plenty of fish, most of which, however, we purchased of the natives, for we could catch very little ourselves either with net or line. When we shewed the natives our seine, which is such as the king's ships are generally furnished with, they laughed at it, and in triumph produced their own, which was indeed of an enormous size, and made of a kind of grass, which is very strong : it was five fathom deep, and by the room it took up, it could not be less than three or four hundred fathom long. Fishing seems indeed to be the chief business of life in this part of the country ; we saw about all their towns a great number of nets, laid in heaps like hay-cocks, and covered with a thatch to keep them from the weather, and we scarcely entered a house where some of the people were not employed in making them. The fish we procured here were sharks, sting-rays, sea-bream, mullet, mackrel, and some others.

The inhabitants in this bay are far more numerous than in any other part of the country that we had before visited ; it did not appear to us that they were united under one head, and though their towns were fortified, they seemed to live together in perfect amity.

It is high water in this bay at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide then rises from six to eight feet perpendicularly. It appears, from such observations as I was able to make of the tides upon the sea-coast, that the flood comes from the southward ; and I have reason to think that there is a current which comes from the westward, and sets along the shore to the S.E. or S.S.E. as the land happens to lie.

## CHAP. V.

*Range from the Bay of Islands round North Cape to Queen Charlotte's Sound ; and a Description of that Part of the Coast.*

ON Thursday the 7th of December, at noon, Cape Brett bore S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant ten miles, and our latitude, by observation, was  $34^{\circ} 59'$  S. ; soon after we made several observations of the sun and moon, the result of which made our longitude  $185^{\circ} 36'$  W. The wind being against us, we had made but little way. In the afternoon, we stood in shore, and fetched close under the Cavalles, from which islands the main trends W. by N. : several canoes put off and followed us, but a light breeze springing up, I did not chuse to wait for them. I kept standing to the W.N.W. and N.W. till the next morning ten o'clock, when I tacked and stood in for the shore, from which we were about five leagues distant. At noon, the westernmost land in sight bore W. by S. and was about four leagues distant. In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze to the west, which in the evening came to the south, and continuing so all night, by day-light brought us pretty well in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of the Cavalles, where we found a deep bay running in S.W. by W. and W.S.W. the bottom of which we could but just see, and there the land appeared to be low and level. To this bay, which I called Doubtless Bay, the entrance is formed by two points, which lie W.N.W. and E.S.E. and are five miles distant from each other. The wind not permitting us to look in here, we steered for the westernmost land in sight, which bore from us W.N.W. about three leagues, but before we got the length of it it fell calm.

While we lay becalmed, several canoes came off to

us, but the people having heard of our guns, it was not without great difficulty that they were persuaded to come under our stern : after having bought some of their cloaths, as well as their fish, we began to make enquiries concerning their country, and learnt, by the help of Tupia, that, at the distance of three days rowing in their canoes, at a place called Moore-whennua, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and from thence extend no more to the west. This place we concluded to be the land discovered by Tasman, which he called Cape Maria Van Diemen, and finding these people so intelligent, we inquired farther, if they knew of any country besides their own : they answered, that they never had visited any other, but that their ancestors had told them, that to the N.W. by N. or N.N.W. there was a country of great extent, called Ulimaroa, to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe ; that only part of them returned, and reported, that after a passage of a month they had seen a country where the people eat hogs. Tupia then enquired whether these adventurers brought any hogs with them when they returned ; they said No : then, replied Tupia, your story is certainly false, for it cannot be believed that men who came back from an expedition without hogs, had ever visited a country where hogs were to be procured. It is however remarkable, notwithstanding the shrewdness of Tupia's objection, that when they mentioned hogs it was not by description but by name, calling them *Booah*, the name which is given them in the South-sea islands ; but if the animal had been wholly unknown to them, and they had had no communication with people to whom it was known, they could not possibly have been acquainted with the name.

About ten o'clock at night, a breeze sprung up at W.N.W. with which we stood off north ; and at noon the next day, the Cavalles bore S.E. by E. distant eight leagues ; the entrance of Doubtless Bay S. by W. distant three leagues ; and the north west extremity

of the land in sight, which we judged to be the main, bore N.W. by W.; our latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 44'$  S. In the evening we found the variation to be  $12^{\circ} 41'$  E. by the azimuth, and  $12^{\circ} 40'$  by the amplitude.

Early in the morning, we stood in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of Doubtless Bay, the bottom of which is not far distant from the bottom of another large bay, which the shore forms at this place, being separated only by a low neck of land, which juts out into a peninsula that I have called Knuckle Point. About the middle of this bay, which we called Sandy Bay, is a high mountain, standing upon a distant shore, to which I gave the name of Mount Camel. The latitude here is  $34^{\circ} 51'$  S. and longitude  $186^{\circ} 50'$ .

We had twenty-four and twenty-five fathom water, with a good bottom; but there seems to be nothing in this bay that can induce a ship to put into it; for the land about it is utterly barren and desolate, and, except Mount Camel, the situation is low: the soil appears to be nothing but white sand, thrown up in low irregular hills and narrow ridges, lying parallel with the shore. But barren and desolate as this place is, it is not without inhabitants: we saw one village on the west side of Mount Camel, and another on the east side; we saw also five canoes full of people, who pulled after the ship, but could not come up with us.

At nine o'clock, we tacked and stood to the northward; and at noon the Cavalles bore S.E. by E. distant thirteen leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight, making like an island, bore N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. distant nine leagues; the Mount Camel bore S.W. by S. distance six leagues.

The wind being contrary, we kept plying northward till five o'clock in the evening of the 12th, when, having made very little way, we tacked and stood to the N.E. being two leagues to the northward of Mount Camel, and about a mile and a half from the

shore, in which situation we had two and twenty fathom water.

At ten it began to blow and rain, which brought us under double reefed topsails; at twelve, we tacked and stood to the westward till seven the next morning, when we tacked and stood again to the N.E. being about a mile to windward of the place where we tacked last night. Soon after it blew very hard at N.N.W. with heavy squalls and much rain, which brought us under our courses, and split the maintopsail; so that we were obliged to unbend it and bend another: at ten, it became more moderate, and we set the topsails, double reefed: at noon having strong gales and heavy weather, we tacked and stood to the westward, and had no land in sight for the first time since we had been upon this coast.

We had now strong gales at W. and W.S.W.; and at half an hour past three we tacked and stood to the northward. Soon after, a small island lying off Knuckle Point bore S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant half a league. In the evening, having split the fore and mizen topsails, we brought the ship under her courses; and at midnight, we wore, and stood to the southward till five in the morning; when we tacked and stood to the N.W. and saw land bearing south, at the distance of eight or nine leagues; by this we discovered that we had fallen much to the leeward since yesterday morning. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 6' S.$ ; and the same land which we had seen before to the N.W. now bore S.W. and appeared to be the northern extremity of the country. We had a large swell rolling in from the westward, and therefore concluded that we were not covered by any land in that quarter. At eight in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward, with as much sail as we could bear; and at noon the next day, we were in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $185^{\circ} 45' W.$  and by estimation about seventeen leagues from the land, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to keep in with it.



On the 16th, at six in the morning, we saw land from the mast head, bearing S.S.W. ; and at noon it bore S. by W. distant fourteen leagues ; while we were standing in for the shore we sounded several times, but had no ground with ninety fathom. At eight, we tacked in a hundred and eight fathom, at about three or four miles from the shore, which was the same point of land we had to the N.W. before we were blown off. At noon it bore S.W. distant about three miles ; Mount Camel bore S. by E. distant about eleven leagues, and the westernmost land in sight bore S. 75 W. ; the latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 20' S.$  At four o'clock, we tacked and stood in shore, in doing which, we met with a strong ripling, and the ship fell fast to leeward, which we imputed to a current setting east. At eight, we tacked and stood off till eight the next morning ; when we tacked and stood in, being about ten leagues from the land : at noon, the point of land which we were near the day before, bore S.S.W. distant five leagues. The wind stil continued at west ; and at seven o'clock, we tacked in thirty-five fathom, when the point of land which has been mentioned before, bore N.W. by N. distant four or five miles ; so that we had not gained one inch to windward the last twenty-four hours, which confirmed our opinion that there was a current to the eastward. The point of land I called North Cape, it being the northern extremity of this country. It lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 22' S.$  longitude  $186^{\circ} 55' W.$  and thirty-one leagues distant from Cape Bret, in the direction of N. 63 W. It forms the north point of Sandy Bay, and is a peninsula jutting out N. E. about two miles, and terminating in a bluff head that is flat at the top. The isthmus which joins this head to the main land is very low, and for that reason the land of the Cape from several situations, has the appearance of an island. It is still more remarkable when it is seen from the southward, by the appearance of a high round island at the S.E. point of the Cape ; but this is also a deception ; for

what appears to be an island is a round hill, joined to the Cape by a low narrow neck of land. Upon the Cape we saw a hippah or village, and a few inhabitants; and on the south-east side of it there appears to be anchorage, and good shelter from the south west and north west winds.

We continued to stand off and on, making N.W. till noon on the 21st, when North Cape bore S. 39 E. distant thirty-eight leagues. Our situation varied only a few leagues till the 23d, when, about seven o'clock in the evening, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. At eleven the next morning, we saw it again, bearing S.S.E. at the distance of eight leagues: we now stood to the S.W.; and at four o'clock, the land bore S.E. by S. distant four leagues, and proved to be a small island, with other islands or rocks, still smaller, lying off the south-west end of it, and another lying off the north east end, which were discovered by Tasman and called the Three Kings. The principal island lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 12' S.$  longitude  $187^{\circ} 48' W.$  and distant fourteen or fifteen leagues from North Cape, in the direction of W. 14 N. At midnight, we tacked and stood to the N. E. till six the next morning, which was Christmas day, when we tacked and stood to the southward. At noon, the Three Kings bore E. 8 N. distant five or six leagues. The variation this morning by the azimuth was  $11^{\circ} 25' E.$

On the 26th, we stood to the southward close upon a wind; and at noon, were in latitude  $35^{\circ} 10' S.$  longitude  $188^{\circ} 20' W.$  the Three Kings bearing N. 26 W. distant twenty-two leagues. In this situation we had no land in sight; and yet, by observation we were in the latitude of the Bay of Islands; and by my reckoning but twenty leagues to the westward of North Cape: from whence it appears, that the northern part of this island is very narrow; for otherwise we must have seen some part of the west side of it. We stood to the

southward till twelve at night, and then tacked and stood to the northward.

At four o'clock in the morning, the wind freshened, and at nine blew a storm; so that we were obliged to bring the ship to under her mainsail. Our course made good between noon this day and yesterday was S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distance eleven miles. The Three Kings bore N. 27 E. distant seventy-seven miles. The gale continued all this day, and till two the next morning, when it fell and began to veer to the southward and S.W. where it fixed about four, when we made sail and steered east in for the land, under the fore-sail and main-sail; but the wind then rising, and by eight o'clock being increased to a hurricane, with a prodigious sea, we were obliged to take in the main-sail; we then wore the ship, and brought her to with her head to the north west. At noon the gale was somewhat abated, but we had still heavy squalls. Our course made good this day, was north, a little easterly, twenty-nine miles; latitude by account  $34^{\circ} 50' S.$  longitude  $188^{\circ} 27' W.$ ; the Three Kings bore N. 41 E. distant fifty-two miles. At seven o'clock in the evening, the wind being at S.W. and S.W. by W. with hard squalls, we wore and lay on the other tack; and at six the next morning spread more sail. Our course and distance since yesterday was E. by N. twenty-nine miles. In the afternoon, we had hard squalls at S.W.; and at eight in the evening, wore and stood to the N.W. till five the next morning; and then wore and stood to the S.E. At six, we saw the land bearing N.E. distant about six leagues, which we judged to be Cape Maria Van Diemen, and which corresponded with the account that had been given of it by the Indians. At midnight we wore and stood to the S.E. And on the next day at noon, Cape Maria Van Diemen bore N. E. by N. distant about five leagues. At seven in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward with a moderate breeze at S.W. by S. and S.W. Mount Camel then bore N. 83 E.

and the northernmost land, or Cape Maria Van Diemen, N. by W.; we were now distant from the nearest land about three leagues, where we had something more than forty fathom water; and it must be remarked, that Mount Camel, which when seen on the other side did not seem to be more than one mile from the sea, seemed to be but little more when seen from this side; which is a demonstration that the land here cannot be more than two or three miles broad, or from sea to sea.

At six o'clock in the morning of January the 1st, 1770, being New-year's Day, we tacked and stood to the eastward, the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. At noon, we tacked again, and stood to the westward, being in latitude  $34^{\circ} 37'$  S.; the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. at the distance of ten or eleven leagues; and Cape Maria Van Diemen N. 31 E. distant about four leagues and an half: in this situation we had fifty-four fathom water.

During this part of our navigation two particulars are very remarkable; in latitude  $35^{\circ}$  S. and in the midst of summer, I met with a gale of wind, which for its strength and continuance was such as I had scarcely ever been in before, and we were three weeks in getting ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, for at this time it was so long since we passed Cape Bret. During the gale, we were happily at a considerable distance from the land, otherwise it is highly probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures.

At five o'clock in the evening, having a fresh breeze to the westward, we tacked and stood to the southward: at this time North Cape bore E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. and just open of a point that lies three leagues W. by N. from it.

This Cape, as I have observed before, is the northernmost extremity of this country, and the easternmost point of a peninsula, which runs out N.W. and N.W. by N. seventeen or eighteen leagues, and of which

Cape Maria Van Diemen is the westernmost point. Cape Maria lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 30'$  S. longitude  $187^{\circ} 18'$  W.; and from this point the land trends away S. E. by S. and S.E. beyond Mount Camel, and is every where a barren shore, consisting of banks of white sand.

On the 2d, at noon, we were in latitude  $35^{\circ} 17'$  S. and Cape Maria bore north, distant about sixteen leagues, as near as we could guess; for we had no land in sight, and did not dare to go nearer, as a fresh gale blew right on shore, with a rolling sea. The wind continued at W.S.W. and S.W. with frequent squalls; in the evening we shortened sail, and at midnight tacked, and made a trip to the N.W. till two in the morning, when we wore and stood to the southward. At break of day, we made sail, and edged away, in order to make land; and at ten o'clock, we saw it, bearing N.W. It appeared to be high, and at noon extended from N. to E.N.E. distant by estimation eight or ten leagues. Cape Maria then bore N.  $2^{\circ} 30'$  W. distant thirty-three leagues; our latitude by observation was  $36^{\circ} 2'$  S. About seven o'clock in the evening, we were within six leagues of it; but having a fresh gale upon it, with a rolling sea, we hauled our wind to the S.E. and kept on that course close upon the wind all night, sounding several times, but having no ground with one hundred and one hundred and ten fathom.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were about five leagues from the land, and off a place which lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 25'$ , and had the appearance of a bay or inlet. It bore east; and in order to see more of it, we kept on our course till eleven o'clock, when we were not more than three leagues from it, and then discovered that it was neither inlet nor bay, but a tract of low land, bounded by higher lands on each side, which produced the deception. At this time, we tacked and stood to the N.W.; and at noon, the land was not distant more than three or four leagues. We were now in latitude  $36^{\circ} 31'$  S. longitude  $185^{\circ} 50'$  W.



Cape Maria bore N. 25 W. distant forty-four leagues and an half ; so that the coast must be almost strait in the direction of S.S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. and N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. nearly. In about latitude  $35^{\circ} 45'$  is some high land adjoining to the sea ; to the southward of which the shore is also high, and has the most desolate and inhospitable appearance that can be imagined. Nothing is to be seen but hills of sand, on which there is scarcely a blade of verdure ; and a vast sea, impelled by the westerly winds, breaking upon it in a dreadful surf, renders it not only forlorn, but frightful ; complicating the idea of danger with desolation, and impressing the mind at once with a sense of misery and death. From this place I steered to the northward, resolving never more to come within the same distance of the coast, except the wind should be very favourable indeed. I stood under a fresh sail all the day, hoping to get an offing by the next noon, and we made good a course of a hundred and two miles N. 38 W. Our latitude by observation was  $35^{\circ} 10'$  S. and Cape Maria bore N. 10 E. distance forty-one miles. In the night, the wind shifted from S.W. by S. to S. and blew fresh. Our course to the noon of the 5th was N. 75 W. distance eight miles.

At day-break on the 6th, we saw the land which we took to be Cape Maria, bearing N.N.E. distant eight or nine leagues : and on the 7th, in the afternoon, the land bore east : and some time after we discovered a turtle upon the water ; but being awake, it dived instantly, so that we could not take it. At noon, the high land, which has just been mentioned, extended from N. to E. at the distance of five or six leagues ; and in two places, a flat gave it the appearance of a bay or inlet. The course that we made good the last four-and-twenty hours was S. 33 E. fifty-three miles ; Cape Maria bearing N. 25 W. distant thirty leagues.

We sailed within sight of land all this day, with gentle gales between the N.E. and N.W. ; and by the next noon had sailed sixty-nine miles, in the direction

of S. 37 E.; our latitude by observation was  $36^{\circ} 39'$  S. The land which on the 4th we had taken for a bay, now bore N.E. by N. distant five leagues and an half; and Cape Maria N. 29 W. forty-seven leagues.

On the 9th, we continued a south-east course till eight o'clock in the evening, having run seven leagues since noon, with the wind at N.N.E. and N. and being within three or four leagues of the land, which appeared to be low and sandy. I then steered S.E. by S. in a direction parallel with the coast, having from forty-eight to thirty-four fathom water, with a black sandy bottom. At day-break the next morning, we found ourselves between two and three leagues from the land, which began to have a better appearance, rising in gentle slopes, and being covered with trees and herbage. We saw a smoke and a few houses, but it appeared to be but thinly inhabited. At seven o'clock, we steered S. by E. and afterwards S. by W. the land lying in that direction. At nine, we were abreast of a point which rises with an easy ascent from the sea to a considerable height: this point, which lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 43'$ , I named Woody Head. About eleven miles from this head, in the direction of S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. lies a very small island, upon which we saw a great number of gannets, and which we therefore called Gannet Island. At noon, a high craggy point bore E.N.E. distant about a league and a half, to which I gave the name of Albetross Point: it lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 4'$  S. longitude  $184^{\circ} 42'$  W.; and is distant seven leagues in the direction of S. 17 W. from Woody Head. On the north side of this point the shore forms a bay, in which there appears to be anchorage and shelter for shipping. Our course and distance for the last twenty-four hours was S. 37 E. sixty-nine miles; and at noon this day Cape Maria bore N. 30 W. distant eighty-two leagues. Between twelve and one, the wind shifted at once from N.N.E. to S.S.W. with which we stood to the westward till four o'clock in the afternoon; and then tacked, and

stood again in shore till seven ; when we tacked again and stood to the westward, having but little wind. At this time, Albetross Point bore N. E. distant near two leagues, and the southermost land in sight bore S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. being a very high mountain, and in appearance greatly resembling the Pike of Teneriffe. In this situation we had thirty fathom water, and having but little wind all night, we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in for the shore. Soon after, it fell calm; and being in forty-two fathom water, the people caught a few sea-bream. At eleven, a light breeze sprung up from the west, and we made sail to the southward. We continued to steer S. by W. and S.S.W. along the shore, at the distance of about four leagues with gentle breezes from between N.W. and N.N.E. At seven in the evening, we saw the top of the Peak to the southward, above the clouds, which concealed it below. And at this time, the southermost land in sight bore S. by W. the variation, by several azimuths which were taken both in the morning and the evening, appeared to be  $14^{\circ} 15'$  easterly.

At noon on the 12th, we were distant about three leagues from the shore which lies under the peak, but the peak itself was wholly concealed by clouds : we judged it to bear about S.S.E. ; and some very remarkable peaked islands, which lay under the shore, bore E.S.E. distant three or four leagues. At seven in the evening we sounded, and had forty-two fathom, being distant from the shore between two and three leagues : we judged the peak to bear east ; and after it was dark, we saw fires upon the shore.

At five o'clock in the morning we saw, for a few minutes, the summit of the peak, towering above the clouds, and covered with snow. It now bore N.E. ; it lies in latitude  $39^{\circ} 16'$  S. longitude  $185^{\circ} 15'$  W. ; and I named it Mount Egmont, in honour of the Earl. It seems to have a large base, and to rise with a gradual ascent ; it lies near the sea, and is surrounded by a flat country, of a pleasant appearance, being clothed

with verdure and wood, which renders it the more conspicuous, and the shore under it forms a large cape, which I have named Cape Egmont. It lies S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. twenty-seven leagues distant from Albettross Point, and on the north side of it are two small islands, which lie near a remarkable point on the main, that rises to a considerable height in the form of a sugar-loaf. To the southward of the Cape, the land trends away S.E. by E. and S.S.E. and seems to be every where a bold shore. At noon, Cape Egmont bore about N.E.; and in this direction, at about four leagues from the shore, we had forty fathom of water. The wind during the rest of the day was from W. to N.W. by W. and we continued to steer along the shore S.S.E. and S.E. by E. keeping at the distance of between two and three leagues. At half an hour after seven, we had another transient view of Mount Edgcombe, which bore N. 17 W. distant about ten leagues.

At five the next morning, we steered S.E. by S. the coast inclining more southerly; and in about half an hour, we saw land bearing S.W. by S. for which we hauled up. At noon, the north west extremity of the land in sight bore S. 63 W. and some high land, which had the appearance of an island lying under the main, bore S.S.E. distant five leagues. We were now in a bay, the bottom of which bearing south we could not see, though it was clear in that quarter. Our latitude by observation was  $40^{\circ} 27'$  S. longitude  $184^{\circ} 39'$  W. At eight in the evening, we were within two leagues of the land which we had discovered in the morning, having run ten leagues since noon: the land which then bore S. 63 W. now bore N. 59 W. at the distance of seven or eight leagues, and had the appearance of an island. Between this land and Cape Egmont lies the bay, the west side of which was our situation at this time, and the land here is of a considerable height, and diversified by hill and valley.

## CHAP. VI.

*Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound : Passage through the Streight which divides the two Islands, and back to Cape Turnagain : Horrid Custom of the Inhabitants : Remarkable Melody of Birds : A Visit to a Heppah, and many other Particulars.*

THE shore at this place seemed to form several bays, into one of which I proposed to carry the ship, which was become very foul, in order to careen her, and at the same time repair some defects, and recruit our wood and water.

With this view, I kept plying on and off all night, having from eighty to sixty-three fathom. At day-break the next morning, I stood for an inlet which runs in S.W. ; and at eight I got within the entrance, which may be known by a reef of rocks, stretching from the north west point, and some rocky islands which lie off the south east point. At nine o'clock, there being little wind, and what there was being variable, we were carried by the tide or current within two cables' length of the north west shore, where we had fifty-four fathom water, but by the help of our boats we got clear. Just at this time we saw a sea-lion rise twice near the shore, the head of which exactly resembled that of the male which has been described in the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage. We also saw some of the natives in a canoe cross the bay, and a village situated upon the point of an island which lies seven or eight miles within the entrance. At noon, we were the length of this island, but there being little wind, the boats were ordered ahead to tow. About one o'clock, we hauled close round the south west end of the island ; and the inhabitants of



the village which was built upon it, were immediately up in arms. About two, we anchored in a very safe and convenient cove, on the north west side of the bay, and facing the south west end of the island, in eleven fathom water, with soft ground, and moored with the stream anchor.

We were about four long cannon shot distant from the village or heppah, from which four canoes were immediately dispatched, as we imagined to reconnoitre, and if they should find themselves able, to take us. The men were all well armed, and dressed nearly as they are represented in the figure published by Tasman; two corners of the cloth which they wrapped round the body were passed over the shoulders from behind, and being brought down to the upper edge of it before, were made fast to it just under the breast; but few, or none, had feathers in their hair.

They rowed round the ship several times, with their usual tokens of menace and defiance, and at last began the assault by throwing some stones: Tupia expostulated with them, but apparently to very little purpose; and we began to fear that they would oblige us to fire at them, when a very old man in one of the boats expressed a desire of coming on board. We gladly encouraged him in his design, a rope was thrown into his canoe, and she was immediately alongside of the ship: the old man rose up, and prepared to come up the ship's side, upon which all the rest expostulated with great vehemence against the attempt, and at last laid hold of him, and held him back: he adhered however to his purpose with a calm but steady perseverance, and, having at length disengaged himself, he came on board. We received him with all possible expressions of friendship and kindness, and after some time dismissed him with many presents to his companions. As soon as he was returned on board his canoe, the people in all the rest began to dance, but whether as a token of enmity or friendship we could not certainly determine, for we had seen them dance in

a disposition both for peace and war. In a short time, however, they retired to their fort, and soon after I went on shore, with most of the gentlemen, at the bottom of the cove, a-breast of the ship.

We found a fine stream of excellent water, and wood in the greatest plenty, for the land here was one forest, of vast extent. As we brought the seine with us, we hauled it once or twice, and with such success that we caught near three hundred weight of fish of different sorts, which was equally distributed among the ship's company.

At day-break, while we were busy in careening the ship, three canoes came off to us, having on board, above a hundred men, besides several of their women, which we were pleased to see, as in general it is a sign of peace; but they soon afterwards became very troublesome, and gave us reason to apprehend some mischief from them to the people that were in our boats alongside the ship. While we were in this situation, the long-boat was sent ashore with some water casks, and some of the canoes attempting to follow her, we found it necessary to intimidate them by firing some small shot: we were at such a distance that it was impossible to hurt them, yet our reproof had its effect, and they desisted from the pursuit. They had some fish in their canoes which they now offered to sell, and which though it stunk, we consented to buy: for this purpose a man in a small boat was sent among them, and they traded for some time very fairly. At length however, one of them watching his opportunity, snatched at some paper which our market-man held in his hand, and missing it immediately put himself in a posture of defence, flourishing his patoo-patoo, and making show as if he was about to strike; some small shot were then fired at him from the ship, a few of which struck him upon the knee: this put an end to our trade, but the Indians still continued near the ship, rowing round her many times, and conversing with Tupia, chiefly concerning the traditions they had

among them with respect to the antiquities of their country. To this subject they were led by the enquiries which Tupia had been directed to make, whether they had ever seen such a vessel as ours, or had ever heard that any such had been upon their coast. These enquiries were all answered in the negative, so that tradition has preserved among them no memorial of Tasman; though, by an observation made this day, we find that we are only fifteen miles south of Murderer's bay, our latitude being  $41^{\circ} 53' 32''$ , and Murderer's bay, according to his account, being  $40^{\circ} 50'$ .

The women in these canoes, and some of the men, had a head-dress which we had not before seen. It consisted of a bunch of black feathers, made up in a round form, and tied upon the top of the head, which it entirely covered, and made it twice as high, to appearance, as it was in reality.

After dinner, I went in the pinnace with Mr. Banks Dr. Solander, Tupia, and some others, into another cove, about two miles distant from that in which the ship lay: in our way we saw something floating upon the water, which we took for a dead seal, but upon rowing up to it, found it to be the body of a woman, which to all appearance had been dead some days. We proceeded to our cove, where we went on shore, and found a small family of Indians, who appeared to be greatly terrified at our approach, and all ran away except one. A conversation between this person and Tupia soon brought back the rest, except an old man and a child, who still kept aloof, but stood peeping at us from the woods. Of these people our curiosity naturally led us to enquire after the body of the woman, which we had seen floating upon the water: and they acquainted us, by Tupia, that she was a relation, who had died a natural death; and that, according to their custom, they had tied a stone to the body, and thrown it into the sea, which stone, they supposed, had by some accident been disengaged.

This family, when we came on shore, was employed in dressing some provisions: the body of a dog was at this time buried in their oven, and many provision baskets stood near it. Having cast our eyes carelessly into one of these, as we passed it, we saw two bones pretty cleanly picked, which did not seem to be the bones of a dog, and which, upon a nearer examination, we discovered to be those of a human body. At this sight we were struck with horror, though it was only a confirmation of what we had heard many times since we arrived upon this coast. As we could have no doubt but the bones were human, neither could we have any doubt but that the flesh which covered them had been eaten. They were found in a provision basket; the flesh that remained appeared manifestly to have been dressed by fire, and in the gristles at the end, were the marks of the teeth which had knawed them: to put an end however to conjecture, founded upon circumstances and appearances, we directed Tupia to ask what bones they were; and the Indians, without the least hesitation, answered, the bones of a man: they were then asked what was become of the flesh, and they replied that they had eaten it; but, said Tupia, why did you not eat the body of the woman which we saw floating upon the water: the woman, said they, died of disease; besides, she was our relation, and we eat only the bodies of our enemies, who are killed in battle. Upon enquiry who the man was whose bones we had found, they told us, that about five days before, a boat belonging to their enemies came into the bay, with many persons on board, and that this man was one of seven whom they had killed. Though stronger evidence of this horrid practice prevailing among the inhabitants of this coast will scarcely be required, we have still stronger to give. One of us asked if they had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them, and upon their answering us that all had been eaten, we affected to disbelieve that the bones were

human, and said that they were the bones of a dog; upon which one of the Indians with some eagerness took hold of his own fore-arm, and thrusting it towards us, said, that the bone which Mr. Banks held in his hand had belonged to that part of a human body; at the same time, to convince us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made shew of eating: he also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and shewing, by signs, that it had afforded a delicious repast; the bone was then returned to Mr. Banks, and he brought it away with him. Among the persons of this family, there was a woman who had her arms, legs, and thighs frightfully cut in several places; and we were told that she had inflicted the wounds upon herself, in token of her grief for the loss of her husband, who had been lately killed and eaten by their enemies, who had come from some place to the eastward, towards which the Indians pointed.

The ship lay at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, and in the morning we were awakened by the singing of the birds: the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any that we had ever heard of the same kind; it seemed to be like small bells, most exquisitely tuned, and perhaps the distance, and the water between, might be no small advantage to the sound. Upon enquiry, we were informed that the birds here always begin to sing about two hours after midnight, and continuing their music till sun-rise, were, like our nightingales, silent the rest of the day. In the forenoon, a small canoe came off from the Indian village to the ship, and among those that were in it, was the old man who had first come on board at our arrival in the bay. As soon as it came alongside, Tupia renewed the conversation, that had passed the day before, concerning their practice of eating human flesh, during which they repeated what they had told us al-



ready : but, said Tupia, where are the heads ? do you eat them too ? Of the heads, said the old man, we eat only the brains, and the next time I come I will bring some of them to convince you that what we have told you is truth. After some farther conversation between these people and Tupia, they told him that they expected their enemies to come very shortly, to revenge the death of the seven men whom they had killed and eaten.

On the 18th, the Indians were more quiet than usual, no canoe came near the ship, nor did we see one of them moving on the shore, their fishing, and other usual occupations being totally suspended. We thought they expected an attack on this day, and therefore attended more diligently to what passed on shore ; but we saw nothing to gratify our curiosity.

After breakfast, we went out in the pinnace, to take a view of the bay, which was of vast extent, and consisted of numberless small harbours and coves, in every direction : we confined our excursion, however, to the western side, and the country being an impenetrable forest where we landed, we could see nothing worthy of notice : we killed, however, a good number of shaggs, which we saw sitting upon their nests in the trees, and which, whether roasted or stewed, we considered as very good provision. As we were returning we saw a single man in a canoe fishing ; we rowed up to him, and to our great surprize he took not the least notice of us, but even when we were alongside of him, continued to follow his occupation, without adverting to us any more than if we had been invisible. He did not, however, appear to be either sullen or stupid : we requested him to draw up his net, that we might examine it, and he readily complied : it was of a circular form, extended by two hoops, and about seven or eight feet in diameter : the top was open, and sea-ears were fastened to the bottom as a bait : this he let down so as to lie upon the ground, and when he thought fish enough were assembled over it, he drew it up by a very

gentle and even motion, so that the fish rose with it, scarcely sensible that they were lifted, till they came very near the surface of the water, and then were brought out in the net by a sudden jerk. By this simple method he had caught abundance of fish, and indeed they are so plenty in this bay, that the catching them requires neither much labour nor art.

This day, some of our people found in the skirts of the wood, near a hole or oven, three human hip-bones, which they brought on board; a farther proof that these people eat human flesh: Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, also brought on board, from a place where he saw many deserted houses, the hair of a man's head, which he had found, among many other things, tied up to the branches of the trees.

In the morning of the 19th, we set up the armourer's forge to repair the braces of the tiller, and other iron-work, all hands on board being still busy in careening, and other necessary operations about the vessel: this day, some Indians came on board from another part of the bay, where they said there was a town which we had not seen: they brought plenty of fish, which they sold for nails, having now acquired some notion of their use; and in this traffic no unfair practice was attempted.

In the morning of the 20th, our old man kept his promise, and brought on board four of the heads of the seven people who had been so much the subject of our enquiries: the hair and flesh were entire, but we perceived that the brains had been extracted; the flesh was soft, but had by some method been preserved from putrefaction, for it had no disagreeable smell. Mr. Banks purchased one of them, but they sold it with great reluctance, and could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with a second; probably they may be preserved as trophies, like the scalps in America, and the jaw-bones in the islands of the South Seas. Upon examining the head which had been

bought by Mr. Banks, we perceived that it had received a blow upon the temples, which had fractured the skull. This day we made another excursion in the pinnace, to survey the bay, but we found no flat large enough for a potatoe garden, nor could we discover the least appearance of cultivation: we met not a single Indian, but found an excellent harbour; and about eight o'clock in the evening returned on board the ship.

On the 21st, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went a fishing with hook and line, and caught an immense quantity every where upon the rocks, in between four and five fathom water: the seine was hauled every night, and seldom failed to supply the whole ship's company with as much fish as they could eat. This day all the people had leave to go on shore at the watering-place, and divert themselves as they should think proper.

In the morning of the 22d, I set out again in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with a design to examine the head of the inlet, but after rowing about four or five leagues without so much as coming in sight of it, the wind being contrary, and the day half spent, we went on shore on the south east side, to try what might be discovered from the hills.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander immediately employed themselves in botanizing near the beach, and I, taking a seaman with me, ascended one of the hills: when I reached the summit, I found a view of the inlet intercepted by hills, which in that direction rose still higher, and which were rendered inaccessible by impenetrable woods; I was, however, abundantly compensated for my labour, for I saw the sea on the eastern side of the country, and a passage leading from it to that on the west, a little to the eastward of the entrance of the inlet where the ship now lay. The main land which lay on the south-east side of this inlet,

appeared to be a narrow ridge of very high hills, and to form part of the south-west side of the streight; the land on the opposite side appeared to trend away east as far as the eye could reach; and to the south-east there appeared to be an opening to the sea, which washed the eastern coast: on the east side of the inlet also I saw some islands which I had before taken to be part of the main land. Having made this discovery, I descended the hill, and as soon as we had taken some refreshment, we set out on our return to the ship. In our way, we examined the harbours and coves which lie behind the islands that I had discovered from the hill; and in this rout we saw an old village, in which there were many houses that seemed to have been long deserted: we also saw another village which was inhabited, but the day was too far spent for us to visit it, and we therefore made the best of our way to the ship, which we reached between eight and nine o'clock at night.

The 23d I employed in carrying on a survey of the place; and upon one of the islands where I landed, I saw many houses which seemed to have been long deserted, and no appearance of any inhabitant.

On the 24th, we went to visit our friends at the hippah or village on the point of the island near the ship's station, who had come off to us on our first arrival in the bay. They received us with the utmost confidence and civility, shewing us every part of their habitations, which were commodious and neat. The island or rock on which this town is situated, is divided from the main by a breach or fissure so narrow, that a man might almost leap from one to the other; the sides of it are every where so steep as to render the artificial fortification of these people almost unnecessary: there was, however, one slight pallisade, and one small fighting-stage, towards that part of the rock where access was least difficult.

The people here brought us out several human

bones, the flesh of which they had eaten, and offered them to sale; for the curiosity of those among us who had purchased them as memorials of the horrid practice which many, notwithstanding the reports of travellers, have professed not to believe, had rendered them a kind of article of trade. In one part of this village we observed, not without some surprize, a cross exactly like that of a crucifix; it was adorned with feathers, and upon our enquiring for what purpose it had been set up, we were told that it was a monument for a man who was dead: we had before understood that their dead were not buried, but thrown into the sea; but to our enquiry how the body of the man had been disposed of, to whose memory this cross had been erected, they refused to answer.

When we left these people, we went to the other end of the island, and there taking water, crossed over to the main, where we saw several houses, but no inhabitants, except a few in some straggling canoes, that seemed to be fishing. After viewing this place, we returned on board the ship to dinner.

During our visit to the Indians this day, Tupia being always of our party, they had been observed to be continually talking of guns, and shooting people: for this subject of their conversation we could not at all account; and it had so much engaged our attention, that we talked of it all the way back, and even after we got on board the ship: we had perplexed ourselves with various conjectures, which were all given up in their turn; but now we learnt, that on the 21st one of our officers, upon pretence of going out to fish, had rowed up to the hippah, and that two or three canoes coming off towards his boat, his fears suggested that an attack was intended, in consequence of which three muskets were fired, one with small shot, and two with ball, at the Indians, who retired with the utmost precipitation, having probably come out with friendly intentions, for such their behaviour



both before and afterwards expressed, and having no reason to expect such treatment from people who had always behaved to them not only with humanity, but kindness, and to whom they were not conscious of having given offence.

On the 25th, I made another excursion along the coast, in the pinnace, towards the mouth of the inlet, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr Solander, and going on shore at a little cove, to shoot shaggs, we fell in with a large family of Indians, whose custom it is to disperse themselves among the different creeks and coves, where fish is to be procured in the greatest plenty, leaving a few only in the Hippah, to which the rest repair in times of danger. Some of these people came out a good way to meet us, and gave us an invitation to go with them to the rest of their party, which we readily accepted. We found a company of about thirty, men, women, and children, who received us with all possible demonstrations of friendship: we distributed among them a few ribbands and beads, and in return received the kisses and embraces of both sexes, both young and old: they gave us also some fish, and after a little time we returned, much pleased with our new acquaintance.

In the morning of the 26th, I went again out in the boat, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and entered one of the bays, which lie on the east side of the inlet, in order to get another sight of the streight, which passed between the eastern and western seas. For this purpose, having landed at a convenient place, we climbed a hill of very considerable height, from which we had a full view of it, with the land on the opposite shore, which we judged to be about four leagues distant; but as it was hazey in the horizon, we could not see far to the south east: I resolved however to search the passage with the ship, as soon as I should put to sea. Upon the top

of this hill we found a parcel of loose stones, with which we erected a pyramid, and left in it some musket balls, small shot, beads, and other things, which we happened to have about us, that were likely to stand the test of time, and not being of Indian workmanship, would convince any European who should come to the place and pull it down, that other natives of Europe had been there before him. When this was done, we descended the hill, and made a comfortable meal of the shaggs and fish which our guns and lines had procured us, and which were dressed by the boat's crew in a place that we had appointed: in this place we found another Indian family, who received us, as usual, with strong expressions of kindness and pleasure, shewing us where to procure water, and doing us such other good offices as were in their power. From this place we went to the town, of which the Indians had told us, who visited us on the 19th: this, like that which we had seen before, was built upon a small island or rock, so difficult of access, that we gratified our curiosity at the risk of our necks. The Indians here also received us with open arms, carried us to every part of the place, and shewed us all that it contained: this town, like the other, consisted of between eighty and an hundred houses, and had only one fighting-stage. we happened to have with us a few nails and ribbands, and some paper, with which our guests were so gratified, that at our coming away they filled our boat with dried fish, of which we perceived they had laid up great quantities.

The 27th and 28th were spent in refitting the ship for the sea, fixing a transom for the tiller, getting stones on board to put into the bottom of the bread-room, to bring the ship more by the stern, in repairing the casks, and catching fish.

On the 29th, we received a visit from our old

man, whose name we found to be Topāa, and three other natives, with whom Tupia had much conversation. The old man told us, that one of the men that had been fired upon by the officer who had visited their Hippah, under pretence of fishing, was dead, but to my great comfort I afterwards discovered that this report was not true, and that if Topāa's discourses were taken literally, they would frequently lead us into mistakes. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were several times on shore during the last two or three days, not without success, but greatly circumscribed in their walks by climbers of a most luxuriant growth, which were so interwoven together, as to fill up the space between the trees about which they grew, and render the woods altogether impassable. This day also I went on shore again myself, upon the western point of the inlet, and from a hill of considerable height, I had a view of the coast to the N.W. The farthest land I could see in that quarter, was an island which has been mentioned before, at the distance of about ten leagues, lying not far from the main: between this island and the place where I stood, I discovered, close under the shore, several other islands, forming many bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for shipping. After I had set off the different points for my survey, I erected another pile of stones, in which I left a piece of silver coin, with some musket balls and beads, and a piece of an old pendant flying on the top. In my return to the ship, I made a visit to several of the natives, whom I saw along the shore, and purchased a small quantity of fish.

On the 30th, early in the morning, I sent a boat to one of the islands for celery, and while the people were gathering it, about twenty of the natives, men, women, and children, landed near some empty huts: as soon as they were on shore, five or six of the women sat down upon the ground together, and began

to cut their legs, arms, and faces, with shells, and sharp pieces of talc or jasper, in a terrible manner. Our people understood that their husbands had lately been killed by their enemies; but while they were performing this horrid ceremony, the men set about repairing the huts, with the utmost negligence and unconcern.

The carpenter having prepared two posts to be left as memorials of our having visited this place, I ordered them to be inscribed with the ship's name, and the year and month; one of them I set up at the watering-place, hoisting the Union flag upon the top of it; and the other I carried over to the island that lies nearest to the sea, called by the natives Motuara. I went first to the village or hippah, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse and Tupia, where I met with our old man, and told him and several others, by means of Tupia, that we were come to set up a mark upon the island, in order to show to any other ship which should happen to come thither, that we had been there before. To this they readily consented, and promised that they never would pull it down: I then gave something to every one present; and to the old man I gave a silver threepence, dated 1736, and some spike nails, with the king's broad arrow cut deep upon them; things which I thought most likely to remain long among them: I then took the post to the highest part of the island, and after fixing it firmly in the ground, I hoisted upon it the Union-flag, and honoured this inlet with the name of Queen Charlotte's Sound, at the same time taking formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George the Third. We then drank a bottle of wine to her Majesty's health, and gave the bottle to the old man who had attended us up the hill, and who was mightily delighted with his present.

While the post was setting up, we enquired of the

old man concerning the passage into the eastern sea, the existence of which he confirmed; and then asked him about the land to the S.W. of the streight, where we were then situated: this land, he said, consisted of two whenneas or islands, which might be circumnavigated in a few days, and which he called Tovy Poenammo; the literal translation of this word is, "the water of green talc:" and probably if we had understood him better, we should have found that Tovy Poenammoo was the name of some particular place where they got the green talc or stone of which they make their ornaments and tools, and not a general name for the whole southern district: he said, there was also a third whennua, on the east side of the streight, the circumnavigation of which would take up many moons: this he called Eaheinomauwe; and to the land on the borders of the streight he gave the name of Tiera Witte. Having set up our post, and procured this intelligence, we returned on board the ship, and brought the old man with us, who was attended by his canoe; in which, after dinner, he returned home.

On the 31st, having completed our wooding, and filled all our water casks, I sent out two parties, one to cut and make brooms, and another to catch fish. In the evening, we had a strong gale from the N.W. with such a heavy rain that our little wild musicians on shore suspended their song, which till now we had constantly heard during the night, with a pleasure which it was impossible to lose without regret.

On the 1st, the gale encreased to a storm, with heavy gusts from the high land, one of which broke the hawser, that we had fastened to the shore, and obliged us to let go another anchor. Towards midnight, the gale became more moderate, but the rain continued with such violence, that the brook which had supplied us with water overflowed its banks, and



carried away ten small casks which had been left there full of water, and notwithstanding we searched the whole cove, we could never recover one of them.

On the 3d, as I intended to sail the first opportunity, I went over to the hippah on the east side of the Sound, and purchased a considerable quantity of split and half-dried fish, for sea stores. The people here confirmed all that the old man had told us concerning the streight and the country, and about noon I took leave of them: some of them seemed to be sorry, and others glad, that we were going: the fish which I had bought they sold freely, but there were some who shewed manifest signs of disapprobation. As we returned to the ship, some of us made an excursion along the shore to the northward, to traffic with the natives for a farther supply of fish; in which, however, they had no great success. In the evening, we got every thing off from the shore, as I intended to sail in the morning, but the wind would not permit.

On the 4th, while we were waiting for a wind, we amused ourselves by fishing, and gathering shells and seeds of various kinds: and early in the morning of the 5th, we cast off the hawser, hove short on the bower, and carried the kedge anchor out in order to warp the ship out of the cove, which having done about two o'clock in the afternoon, we hove up the anchor and got under sail; but the wind soon failing, we were obliged to come to an anchor again a little above Motuara. When we were under sail, our old man Topāa came on board to take his leave of us, and as we were still desirous of making farther enquiries whether any memory of Tasman had been preserved among these people, Tupia was directed to ask him whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as ours had before visited the country. To this he replied in the negative, but said, that his ancestors had told him there had once come to this place a small

vessel, from a distant country, called Ulimaroa, in which were four men, who, upon their coming on shore, were all killed: upon being asked where this distant land lay, he pointed to the northward. Of Ulimaroa we had heard something before, from the people about the Bay of Islands, who said that their ancestors had visited it; and Tupia had also talked to us of Ulimaroa, concerning which he had some confused traditionary notions, not very different from those of our old man, so that we could draw no certain conclusion from the accounts of either.

Soon after the ship came to an anchor the second time, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, to see if any gleanings of natural knowledge remained, and by accident fell in with the most agreeable Indian family they had seen, which afforded them a better opportunity of remarking the personal subordination among these people, than had before offered. The principal persons were a widow, and a pretty boy about ten years old: the widow was mourning for her husband with tears of blood, according to their custom, and the child, by the death of its father, was become proprietor of the land where we had cut our wood. The mother and the son were sitting upon mats, and the rest of the family, to the number of sixteen or seventeen, of both sexes, sat round them in the open air, for they did not appear to have any house, or other shelter from the weather, the inclemencies of which, custom has probably enabled them to endure without any lasting inconvenience. Their whole behaviour was affable, obliging, and unsuspicious: they presented each person with fish, and a brand of fire to dress it, and pressed them many times to stay till the morning, which they would certainly have done if they had not expected the ship to sail, greatly regretting that they had not become acquainted with them sooner, as they made no doubt but that more knowledge of the manners and disposition of the inhabitants of this

country would have been obtained from them in a day, than they had yet been able to acquire during our whole stay upon the coast.

On the 6th, about six o'clock in the morning, a light breeze sprung up at north, and we again got under sail, but the wind proving variable, we reached no farther than just without Motuara; in the afternoon, however, a more steady gale at N. by W. set us clear of the Sound, which I shall now describe.

The entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound is situated in latitude  $41^{\circ}$  S. longitude  $184^{\circ} 45'$  W. and near the middle of the south-west side of the streight in which it lies. The land of the south-east head of the Sound, called by the natives Koamaroo, off which lie two small islands and some rocks, makes the narrowest part of the streight. From the north-west head a reef of rocks runs out about two miles, in the direction of N.E. by N.; part of which is above the water, and part below. By this account of the heads, the Sound will be sufficiently known: at the entrance, it is three leagues broad, and lies in S.W. by S.S.W. and W.S.W. at least ten leagues, and is a collection of some of the finest harbours in the world, as will appear from the plan, which is laid down with all the accuracy that time and circumstances would admit. The land forming the harbour or cove in which we lay, is called by the natives Totarranue: the harbour itself, which I called Ship Cove, is not inferior to any in the Sound, either for convenience or safety: it lies on the west side of the Sound, and is the southernmost of three coves, that are situated within the island of Motuara, which bears east of it. Ship Cove may be entered, either between Motuara and a long island, called by the natives Hamote, or between Motuara and the western shore. In the last of these channels are two ledges of rocks, three fathom under water, which may easily be known by the sea-weed that grows upon them. In sailing either in or out of the Sound, with little

wind, attention must be had to the tides, which flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full and change of the moon, and rise and fall between seven and eight feet perpendicularly. The flood comes in through the streight from the S.E. and sets strongly over upon the north-west head, and the reef that lies off it: the ebb sets with still greater rapidity to the S.E. over upon the rocks and islands that lie off the south-east head. The variation of the compass we found from good observation to be  $13^{\circ} 5'$  E.

The land about this sound, which is of such a height that we saw it at the distance of twenty leagues, consists wholly of high hills and deep vallies, well stored with a variety of excellent timber, fit for all purposes except masts, for which it is too hard and heavy. The sea abounds with a variety of fish, so that without going out of the cove where we lay, we caught every day, with the seine and hooks and lines, a quantity sufficient to serve the whole ship's company: and along the shore we found plenty of shags, and a few other species of wild-fowl, which those who have long lived upon salt provisions will not think despicable food.

The number of inhabitants scarcely exceeds four hundred, and they live dispersed along the shores, where their food, consisting of fish and fern roots, is most easily procured; for we saw no cultivated ground. Upon any appearance of danger, they retire to their hippons, or forts; in this situation we found them, and in this situation they continued for some time after our arrival. In comparison of the inhabitants of other parts of this country, they are poor, and their canoes are without ornament; the little traffic we had with them was wholly for fish, and indeed they had scarcely any thing else to dispose of. They seemed, however, to have some knowledge of iron, which the inhabitants of some other parts had not; for they willingly took nails for their fish, and sometimes seemed

to prefer it to every thing else that we could offer, which had not always been the case. They were at first very fond of paper ; but when they found that it was spoiled by being wet, they would not take it : neither did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite ; but English broad cloth, and red kersey, were in high estimation ; which shewed that they had sense enough to appretiate the commodities which we offered by their use, which is more than could be said of some of their neighbours, who made a much better appearance. Their dress has been mentioned already, particularly their large round head-dresses of feathers, which were far from being unbecoming.

As soon as we got out of the Sound, I stood over to the eastward, in order to get the streight well open before the tide of ebb came on. At seven in the evening, the two small islands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, the south east head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, bore east, distant about four miles : at this time it was nearly calm, and the tide of ebb setting out, we were, in a very short time, carried by the rapidity of the stream close upon one of the islands, which was a rock rising almost perpendicularly out of the sea : we perceived our danger increase every moment, and had but one expedient to prevent our being dashed to pieces, the success of which a few minutes would determine. We were now within little more than a cable's length of the rock, and had more than seventy-five fathom water ; but upon dropping an anchor, and veering about one hundred and fifty fathom of cable, the ship was happily brought up : this, however, would not have saved us, if the tide which set S. by E. had not, upon meeting with the island, changed its direction to S.E. and carried us beyond the first point. In this situation, we were not above two cables' length from the rocks ; and here we remained in the strength of the tide, which set to the S.E. after the rate of at least five miles an hour, from a little after seven till near mid-



night, when the tide abated, and we began to heave, by three in the morning the anchor was at the bows, and having a light breeze at N.W. we made sail for the eastern shore; but the tide being against us, we made but little way: the wind however afterwards freshened, and came to N. and N.E. with which, and the tide of ebb, we were in a short time hurried through the narrowest part of the streight, and then stood away for the southernmost land we had in sight, which bore from us S. by W. Over this land appeared a mountain of stupendous height, which was covered with snow.

The narrowest part of the streight, through which we had been driven with such rapidity, lies between Cape Tierawitte, on the coast of Eaheinomauwe, and Cape Koamaroo: the distance between them I judged to be between four or five leagues, and notwithstanding the tide, now its strength is known, may be passed without much danger. It is however safest to keep on the north-east shore, for on that side there appeared to be nothing to fear; but on the other shore there are not only the islands and rocks which lie off Cape Koamaroo, but a reef of rocks stretching from these islands six or seven miles to the southward, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore, which I had discovered from the hill when I took my second view of the streight from the east to the western sea. The length of the streight we had passed I shall not pretend to assign, but some judgment may be formed of it from a view of the chart.

About nine leagues north from Cape Tierawitte, and under the same shore, is a high and remarkable island which may be distinctly seen from Queen Charlotte's Sound, from which it is distant about six or seven leagues. This island, which was noticed when we passed it on the 14th of January, I have called Entry Isle.

On the east side of Cape Tierawitte, the land trends

away S.E. by E. about eight leagues, where it ends in a point, and is the southermost land on Eaheinomauwe. To this point I have given the name of Cape Palliser, in honour of my worthy friend Captain Palliser. It lies in latitude  $41^{\circ} 34' S.$  longitude  $183^{\circ} 58' W.$  and bore from us this day at noon S. 79 E. distant about thirteen leagues, the ship being then in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 27' S.$ ; Koamaroo at the same time bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant seven or eight leagues. The southermost land in sight bore S. 16 W. and the snowy mountain S.W. At this time we were about three leagues from the shore, and abreast of a deep bay or inlet, to which I gave the name of Cloudy Bay, and at the bottom of which there appeared low land covered with tall trees.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we were abreast of the southermost point of land that we had seen at noon, which I called Cape Campbell; it lies S. by W. distant between twelve and thirteen leagues from Cape Koamaroo, in latitude  $41^{\circ} 44' S.$  longitude  $183^{\circ} 45' W.$  and with Cape Palliser forms the southern entrance of the streight, the distance between them being between thirteen and fourteen leagues W. by S. and E. by N.

From this cape we steered along the shore S.W. by S. till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind died away. About half an hour afterwards, however, a fresh breeze sprung up at S.W. and I put the ship right before it. My reason for this, was a notion which some of the officers had just started, that Eaheinomauwe was not an island, and that the land might stretch away to the S.E. from between Cape Turnagain and Cape Palliser, there being a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues that we had not seen. I had indeed the strongest conviction that they were mistaken, not only from what I had seen the first time I discovered the streight, but from many other concurrent testimonies that the land in question was an

island ; but being resolved to leave no possibility of doubt with respect to an object of such importance, I took the opportunity of the wind's shifting, to stand eastward, and accordingly steered N.E. by E. all the night. At nine o'clock in the morning we were abreast of Cape Palliser, and found the land trend away N.E. towards Cape Turnagain, which I reckoned to be distant about twenty-six leagues : however, as the weather was hazy, so as to prevent our seeing above four or five leagues, I still kept standing to the N.E. with a light breeze at south ; and at noon Cape Palliser bore N. 72 W. distant about three leagues.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, three canoes came up to the ship with between thirty and forty people on board, who had been pulling after us with great labour and perseverance for some time : they appeared to be more cleanly, and a better class, than any we had met with since we left the Bay of Islands, and their canoes were also distinguished by the same ornaments which we had seen upon the northerly part of the coast. They came on board with very little invitation ; and their behaviour was courteous and friendly : upon receiving presents from us, they made us presents in return, which had not been done by any of the natives that we had seen before. We soon perceived that our guests had heard of us, for as soon as they came on board, they asked for *whow*, the name by which nails were known among the people with whom we had trafficked : but though they heard of nails, it was plain they had seen none : for when nails were given them, they asked Tupia what they were. The term *whow*, indeed, conveyed to them the idea not of their quality, but only of their use ; for it is the same by which they distinguish a tool, commonly made of bone, which they use both as an augur and a chissel. However, their knowing that we had *whow* to sell, was a proof that their connections extended as far north as Cape Kidnappers, which was

distant no less than forty-five leagues; for that was the southermost place on this side the coast where we had any traffic with the natives. It is also probable, that the little knowledge which the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound had of iron, they obtained from their neighbours at Tierawitte; for we had no reason to think that the inhabitants of any part of this coast had the least knowledge of iron or its use before we came among them, especially as when it was first offered they seemed to disregard it as of no value. We thought it probable, that we were now once more in the territories of Teratu; but upon enquiring of these people, they said that he was not their king. After a short time, they went away, much gratified with the presents that we had made them; and we pursued our course along the shore to the N.E. till eleven o'clock the next morning. About this time the weather happening to clear up, we saw Cape Turnagain, bearing N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. at the distance of about seven leagues: I then called the officers upon deck, and asked them, whether they were not now satisfied, that Eahienomauwe was an island; they readily answered in the affirmative, and all doubts being now removed, we hauled our wind to the eastward.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

